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PROCEEDINGS

of the

CONFERENCE ON THE WRITING OF REGIONAL HISTORY

With Special Emphasis on Religious and Ethnic Groups

Convened by

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

and

THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY CENTER

of THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA

Cleveland, December 1, 1955

- 1956 -

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The American Jewish History Center of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America is sponsored by Louis M. Rabinowitz. Professor Allan Nevins is director; Professor Moshe Davis is co-director. For information write to the American Jewish History Center, 3080 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

Introductory Note

The Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History are issued by the American Jewish History Center of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America in lieu of a formal progress report. The Center was established on December 1, 1953. Sponsored by Mr. Louis M. Rabinowitz, it is engaged in the preparation of the histories of six American Jewish communities.

We believe its work can be considerably advanced through collaborative discussion and effort with local and regional historians of diverse background and experience. In order to alert local communities and scholars to its work, the Center initiated two regional conferences during the past academic year: in Cleveland, in December, 1955 and in Miami Beach, in February, 1956.

The Cleveland Conference, sponsored jointly by Western Reserve University, the Western Reserve Historical Society and the Center, brought together close to one hundred scholars and community leaders, representing forty-four institutions, as well as a number of interested laymen. The papers and discussions presented in these Proceedings are but one aspect of the results achieved. In addition, the Conference stimulated general interest in the history of Cleveland Jewry, called attention to some of the problems in writing it, and served as an appeal for source materials, which might otherwise be overlooked or destroyed. We hope that all who will read this report will be similarly stimulated.

A word of thanks is extended to all the participants in the Conference, and especially to our associate, Dr. Joseph Rappaport, who edited these Proceedings for distribution.

Allan Nevins

Moshe Davis

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MORNING SESSION

Colton Storm, chairman

ON THE WRITING OF LOCAL HISTORY

CHAIRMAN STORM [Director, Western Reserve Historical Society]: It is a very great honor for me as a rather new citizen of the Cleveland area to welcome you on this occasion. My arrival here is recent enough so that Cleveland is still for me a city of wonders and delight. I can still boast about it with a good deal of enthusiasm.

However, we have rather more important affairs on hand than praises for our home. We are here to consider some of the problems of gathering, recording and conserving the facts of local history. We are here also to learn how to write good local history, and to discover how far certain historians have gone in one area of life in this city.

This will be a long and difficult day, but I think it will be rewarding beyond even the dreams of our sponsors, Western Reserve University, the Western Reserve Historical Society, and the American Jewish History Center of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

My earliest experience with our first speaker, Dr. Stanley M. Pargellis, Librarian of The Newberry Library in Chicago, occurred some fifteen years ago when I stumbled against him in a footnote. The note was so provocative that I hounded the gentleman to his lair, at that time a book entitled Lord Loudoun in North America, and found him uncommonly attractive. Dr. Pargellis was then on the faculty of Yale University,

which has certainly since regretted the loss of a brilliant man. Yet The Newberry Library, the Middle West, and the world of scholarship gained immeasurably when Dr. Pargellis accepted his appointment as Librarian.

Those of us who have loved The Newberry Library for a long time are immensely gratified by the renaissance which it is enjoying today under Dr. Pargellis' direction. It is a scholars' paradise -- a source of comfort, inspiration and pride for the world of learning. A series of conferences on special problems in historiography, conducted by Dr. Pargellis, have been especially rewarding. His grants-in-aid for working writers have also brought great distinction to the Library.

It is with great pleasure and pride that I present our first speaker, Dr. Stanley M. Pargellis.

The Writing of Local History

Stanley M. Pargellis
The Newberry Library

The writing of good local history is of fundamental importance, for itself, and in the whole picture and scheme of historical writing. That is the theme of this paper, which undertakes, first, a survey of local history writing in the past; second, a brief consideration of some philosophic ideas about local and general historical writing; and third, a cursory view of certain modern developments in historiography which have particular reference to the local scene.

Local history -- and it is perhaps well to start with a definition -- means any history that is not national or international in scope. That simple and clear definition, like most such definitions, becomes vague when it gets near the border line. A history of the State of Ohio, the splendid series of the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the publications of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and a history of Cleveland -- these are unmistakably local history. A history of the Western Reserve as part of western expansion, with emphasis upon the factors behind the migration and settlement, belongs to national history; a history of the Western Reserve after it began, with emphasis upon the settlement itself, its government, its economic development and the individuals involved, is properly local history. A life of Rutherford B. Hayes or of Newton D. Baker of course is national; I confess I am not so sure about Johnny Appleseed. Custer's Last Stand would be national; I am of two minds about the James brothers or Calamity Jane. Regional history, embracing several states, is properly classified as local history, such as Palfrey's History of New England, even though it deals with matters which have left an impress far outside New England's borders, including the

Western Reserve. But a life of Emerson or of Daniel Webster somehow transcends the local or the regional boundary. How will you classify a book about the Tafts? A book on the President is national, on the Senator also; on Charles - local. But what about a book on the Taft family?

Racial and religious histories likewise present problems. A history of the Germans in the United States classifies, by title alone, in the national bracket. I suppose that we might classify as local the book which may be written by a learned professor from the University of Liverpool, who is coming to The Newberry Library next year to investigate the collections of the Germania Club of Chicago - collections containing the kind of books which first-generation Germans wanted to read. Are the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania, who moved down the Great Valley and up into the Middle West, to be classified as national or local? And what about the Quakers? The Quakers in Pennsylvania seem to fall into pure local history. Yet is William Penn, like Emerson and Webster, a national figure, or is he but a Calamity Jane? The first Jews in New Amsterdam, three hundred years ago -- is their story only a part of the history of the City of New York, or does it belong to the nation? The answer may depend on the way the article or book is written; Louis Zara's recent fine novel, Blessed is the Land, was not intended for New Yorkers alone.

By this definition of local history, thus qualified with doubt and surmise, it is clear that the greatest amount of historical writing in the United States today can be classified as local history. At least two-thirds and perhaps three-fourths of that fine annual compilation called Writings on American History, which lists everything on the subject, books and articles, and runs to four thousand or more items, deals with local history. When we talk about local history, therefore, we are not talking about anything minor, anything to be passed off with an apologetic shrug. We are talking about the

largest and the most vital part of our history as a folk and as a nation.

Let me emphasize the word vital in that sentence - that local history represents the most vital part of our history as a folk and nation. I once fondly thought that I was the originator of the idea that patriotism had to spring from fetlocks deep in the soil, that the "rocks and the rills we love" had to mean some particular rock and rill for each one of us, or for many today some particular city neighborhood with its signs and smells, noises and memories. I have learned that this idea is at least four hundred years old, and if I made an exhaustive study of its origins, I would probably find myself in Horace's Samian Gardens, or on the banks of Ausonius's Moselle. "O mighty mother, both of fruits and men, Mosella, hail!"

For me, who am lucky, this idea means boyhood memories of an Ohio farm now unhappily reduced to ruin: the long lane with the black walnut at the head, the bent elm where a boy could sit and rest a moment while driving in the cows, the rail fences, the chickens, the outbuildings and strawstacks, the well, the Jersey, the Guernsey and the Holstein, their milk kept in separate pails so that I could order any evening the mixture I wanted -- one part of each, or two Jersey and one Holstein. It meant later the Mississippi at Clinton, Iowa; the misty bare summit of Mount Kinport at Pocatello; stretches of red prairies in the Texas Panhandle; and the glorious sight of Lake Tahoe in winter, won after a two-day grueling trip with snowshoes up 11,000-foot Mount Rose. And today, I, a descendant of Scotch immigrants of over a century ago, find my boyhood affections for the local scene transferred, by marriage, from the prairies and the mountains to the waters of Maine, and by circumstance to the Bohemian border of Chicago. It is all local, but because it is local, it is also national.

I have said that local history represents the most vital part of our total history. It is also, I should add, a corrective of certain tendencies -- or perhaps I should call them temptations -- which often lead the general historian astray. The local historian perforce focuses on the particular and the concrete; he deals with individual people doing definite things in an unique landscape. If he deals at all with mass movements and world trends, he does so only to the extent that these are implied by the particular local scene he is studying. He is therefore less likely than the general historian to have his immediate vision clouded by large theories, and to assume grand laws of History whose validity is dubious and whose determining force is nil.

Perhaps I can best illustrate my meaning by reference to that mysterious Something which is supposed to rule a democratic state, namely Public Opinion. Public Opinion, we often say, is the ultimate ruler of a free society. And from this statement it is all too easy to infer that there actually <u>is</u> such a thing as a Public Mind which holds opinions. Indeed, we are encouraged to draw this inference by Mr. Gallup and his fellow pollsters who presume (and I'm afraid I think it <u>is</u> presumptuous of them) to examine the Public Mind, and report to us its fluctuating attitudes and judgments. We are led thus to the conclusion that indvidual opinions of individual human beings are valid only insofar as they are expressions of a Public Opinion, which, in fact, determines them.

But of course this is nonsense! There is no Public Mind; there is no Public Opinion which can be isolated and described as a social force. There are only a host of individual minds, each with its own individual opinions, no two of which are precisely alike - and the unitary Public Opinion the pollsters presume to record is but a statistical abstraction.

The same sort of mistake -- and it is a disastrous one -- is often made, I think, by the general historian who seeks to chart the course of whole nations or civilizations. The general historian is often led to believe that there is such a thing as History, with a capital "H", moving according to certain "laws" which the historian discovers, and which determine the actions of individual people and the shapes of particular events. These "laws" may be economic, as in the case of Marx; or essentially theological, as in the case of Toynbee; or mystically organismic, as in the case of Spengler. Whatever form they take they are, I think, mistaken in essential respects. The "laws" these men discover are descriptive rather than governing. They help us to see more clearly, perhaps, what has happened in history, but they have nothing to do with determining what happens. And even as descriptions they are over-simplified. To become valid, they need the kind of qualifications or modifications which the local historian, concerned with the particular rather than the general, is almost certain to make of them.

For the local historian focuses on real individuals rather than abstract masses; he sees leading individuals as flesh-and-blood personalities rather than symbolic figures. He is therefore almost forced to recognize that the so-called grand "laws" of history are but convenient categorical labels for a host of roughly similar events and people, each of which (or whom) is, in a total sense, unique. He can hardly fail to note many tendencies and characteristics which the general "law" ignores but which were of actual importance in the making of history.

Let me attempt now a brief survey of the writing of both national and local history in England, with a few references to America. The beginnings of sound national history are to be found in the seventeenth century,

growing out of the struggles between the Whigs and Tories; each party tried to demonstrate that its view of the origins of the English Constitution was correct, and in the process certain rules of historical evidence, now the stock-in-trade of all good historians, were developed. Coke, Spelman, Brady, and on a smaller scale, Madox, hewed to the facts, and built their interpretations upon the facts. The line of these careful scholars ends with Madox. There was as yet no good history of England on a national scale. In the middle of the eighteenth century there arose a cry for someone to do the job. Carl Becker, in his scintillating The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers, wondered why Hume deserted philosophy for history. The pressure seemed to be too great for Hume to resist; every intelligent Englishman wanted to read the final word on England's past that, they fondly hoped, would solve all problems for the future, on the theory that if one could only understand how England had come to be great, one could refrain from committing those acts which might destroy her. Hume, a philosopher, tried his hand at it, as did two literary men, Smollett and Goldsmith, and the histories of the latter two were continued by various hack writers until the nineteenth century. Not until that century was well along did national histories of more merit begin to appear, and not until the 1870's, when Stubbs inaugurated a so-called modern history Honours School at Oxford, based on the serious study of source materials interpreted without conscious bias, was there started the career which has continued uninterrupted to the present.

As regards the area of local history, I want to summarize a rather astounding record of the great histories of thirty-eight English counties -- some have not yet produced Shire histories worth mentioning. Three

are Elizabethan, one is mid-seventeenth century, seven appeared between the 1670's and 1720, three date from the mid-eighteenth century, and no less than nineteen were written between 1770 and 1830. Only five, fit to be called great, were published in the mid-nineteenth century.. Of the histories of individual American colonies, seven that are still regarded as a sine qua non for graduate students were written in the eighteenth century, and one before 1820. It is the two generations between 1770 and 1830, during a period of revolution and war, that produced more than half of the landmarks in local history which no modern scholar can do without. None of these is a museum piece, There are bibliographies on local history prepared in the early nineteenth century which surpass anything done in recent times, dealing with every kind of local history publication, with kindly discriminating notes on each. What a tradition that is! It was William Lambard in the reign of Elizabeth who wrote the first local history, which he called A Perambulation of Kent, published in London in 1576. And the introduction to that book makes a point that is as true today as it was then. Let me quote a sentence or two: "There is nothing either for our instruction more profitable, or to our minds more delectable, or within the compass of common understanding more easy or facile, than the study of histories ... For, the dexterity that men have either in providing for themselves, or in comforting their friends (two very good things) or in serving their king and country ... doth rest chiefly upon their own and other folk's experience... Now that that a number of folks doeth generally, is much more than that, that any one of us can do specially, and so by other folk's experience are we taught largely."

What interests me in that quotation is that Lambard, or the man who wrote the introduction, put his finger unerringly on why good local

histories are written, why they could be issued in great clumsy folio volumes selling at a comparative high price, and why they do not become outmoded. Local history deals with people, with folk, in a good Elizabethan and Ohioan idiom. It is people, you and me and our neighbors, and our fathers before us, and our children and children's children after us, who make up the stuff of local history. It's what they were like, what they did, and how they met and solved their problems. One could write a history of the United States without mentioning any person by name, not even Washington or Lincoln, and the book might be readable. The American Revolution could be explained in constitutional, ideological, and economic terms, and the Civil War also. Our industrial development in the twentieth century could be explained in terms of our increasing command of units of power. But I think it would be difficult to write a history of the city of Cleveland without mentioning General Moses Cleaveland, and the Carters the Ranneys and the Mathers, the Wades, the Stones, and the host of others, plain and not-so-plain folk. Never to lose sight of people, then, is the first rule in writing good local history.

The second rule is to write without bias, though of course with pride. We will pardon an historian of the city itself for describing it in superlatives. Yet we do not so readily pardon an historian of, say, the Unitarians in Cleveland if he should seem to forget that there are other religious faiths in the city. The author of a fairly recent history of Unitarianism in England claimed as Unitarians so many eminent individuals who were not Catholics, Jews, or violently pro-Church of England or pro-Presbyterian, that he made himself ridiculous and destroyed appeal. A man who spends some time in writing the history of a church

wants to have it read by a few others than the members of the congregation. And he won't get such readers if he claims more than the evidence justifies, in the eyes of a reasonable man.

And that brings us to a third ruling: get all the evidence or just about all the evidence that is available or can be made available. This may sound terrifying, but it isn't. A person does not need to be a professional historian to write a good local history; all he needs is to be in love with what he is writing about. Any reasonably intelligent person who wants to have fun can start out collecting information on, say, the particular section of Cleveland in which he lives, or the place where he goes in the summer, or some institution, society, or church to which he belongs. Use cards or slips of paper of uniform size; don't put more than a single fact on one slip of paper; and be sure to record the book or paper or document from which you got the information, with the page number. You will be surprised to see how quickly your box becomes filled. Before long you will have exhausted the usual sources of information, such as town and city histories, county histories, family histories and biographies, military records, accounts of travelers, and anniversary addresses and sermons. You will have been through the newspapers, you will have discovered old public records, public school, state, county and town. You will have looked up church records and cemetery inscriptions. And then, maybe before then, you will begin one of the most fascinating parts of the work. Some friend to whom you have described what you are doing will say, "My great-grandfather settled in this town. I have all of his papers and letters. Would you like to see them?" By this time you will be so far along in your researches as to understand what a treasure trove you then have. You can fit these letters into

your scheme of things. You will go searching for other collections of letters, and for diaries, and you will become willing to cut the throat of anyone who destroys old documents. Also, you will win for yourself the undying affection of such people as Colton Storm and James Rodabaugh, who are putting together just such collections for people like yourselves to use. The destruction of records of imperative importance for local history has assumed the proportions of a holocaust, and I use that word deliberately, because whoever destroys the records of a man destroys in time his memory. All this, I repeat, can become so much fun that the hours you spend on it will pass as quickly as those you spend in sleep. Black sheep will be found, skeletons will emerge from their closets for you alone, and it will be up to you to determine whether they ought to be put back in, and the door locked. Let me recommend one among a number of books and articles that give the would-be local historian clear directions. It is called Local History, How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It, and the author is Donald D. Parker.

I have spent some time in proving that a well written local history long outlives its author, that the writing of it is fun, and that it is important. And before I finish I hope to convince you that local history writing, if properly done, can become the most important kind of historical writing being done in this country today.

Last spring, at The Newberry Library we had a conference on the question whether, through a study of the situation in a single Wisconsin county in the 1850's to the 70's, Turner's famous hypothesis about frontier conditions as the breeding ground of political and social democracy, could be verified. Turner spread his generalizations over the national scene; he was writing national history, Merle Curti, one of our leading

contemporary historians, went down to the bedrock of local conditions for his data. Generalizations about Americans have got to be demonstrated on the local level. If a man comes up with enough data, enough facts and figures, he can prove the truth of some interesting surmises which have been only conjectural before. And he will come up with some new questions which will be fun trying to answer. From information amassed from the town and county archives of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, Curti found facts about almost everyone who lived in that county in the first twenty years of its settlement. He knew how old everybody was, how many acres of land they owned, whether they sent their children to school or not, what the size of their income was, what kind of houses they lived in, what education they had themselves, and which ones were elected by their peers to some kind of public office. Curti learned as much about those people as the boss of a town ward knows about his constituents today. These people were not simply names to him, when he got through, like the names on a census roll or on a genealogical chart. They were alive, and he could, if pressed, tell you stories about a great many of them. In the same careful way, information could be collected about minority groups in Cleveland, how many people there were or are in each, what each person in them was doing, how well off he was, what he did about educating his children, whether he regularly was listed on the voting rolls, whether he belonged to clubs or groups outside his own minority group, and what prominence he attained in city affairs. I admit that this sort of local history requires a little more training and specialization than the other kind I have been talking about. It requires a little more money too; a man would have to buy and learn to run one of these I.B.M. punchcard machines. But explorers in this vineyard have already begun to chart the pitfalls, and any reasonably intelligent person

who wants to devote himself to the compiling of such statistical data, almost essential for the proper understanding of a minority or religious group, in relation to the rest of the community, can do it if he or she thinks that it is worth the trouble. If we had this kind of data about the Jews in Cleveland, or anywhere else, we could shed some new luster upon the record of a great people.

In conclusion, let me say straightforwardly what I have been hinting at, that all history really begins at the local level. A handful of men in Massachusetts and New York objected, with violence, to the Stamp Act, and so began the chain of events that led to Revolution. Some Fire-Eaters in South Carolina, and some more in the North, laid a train of powder that exploded into Civil War. A small committee of men and women with an idea, like the first public aid society in Baltimore, can begin something that, a century-and-a-quarter later, affects the entire national community.

If all those modern sociological techniques I have briefly described are employed in the work on the history of the Jews in Cleveland, if the statistics mount and the results prove so conclusive that they become not only a part of the history of Cleveland, or a part of the history of the Jewish people, but a part of national history as well, their authors, I hope, will never forget that they are dealing with individuals, and, now and then, will call one or two of them by name.

CHAIRMAN STORM: Our two discussants this morning are Dr. Walter R. Marvin, Executive Director of the Ohioana Library Association in Columbus, and Dr. James H. Rodabaugh, Head of the Division of History and Science of The Ohio Historical Society.

I am going to ask Dr. Marvin to speak to us first. He has spent a good deal of time in his scholarly work among the railroads of Ohio. Dr. Marvin, while not what some of us think of as a local historian, since he covers Ohio in general, still has a sense of the value of regions and smaller areas.

DR. MARVIN /Executive Director, Ohioana Library Association/: I am extremely grateful for the invitation to come here today to draw myself out on my favorite theme, enthusiasm for local history. Anybody can wax eloquent, if he loves a subject enough, and I surely will do my best to demonstrate my feelings for local history. Dr. Pargellis has just given us a demonstration of one of the benefits of interest in local history: it generates enthusiasm for the subject on the part of its practitioners. His enthusiasm, I feel sure, is contagious, and I would like to supplement it a bit by pointing out some of the other pleasures to be derived from the study of local history.

By way of introduction, I want to discuss the gathering of source material. The story of the Library with which I am connected would appear to offer a workable pattern to follow in developing a collection of local literary and historical records. I can relate the achievements of the Ohioana Library without boasting, since my association with it has been for little more than a year.

Organized in 1929, it has, over a twenty-six year period, acquired more than 11,000 books and brochures, including several hundred "rare books"; 2,100 musical compositions; biographical data on over 7,000 Ohio

authors and composers, and hundreds of duplicate pamphlets and clippings available for loan. The Library has a paid-up membership of 1,500, including about 150 local organizations, which themselves have a total membership of several thousand. Over the years, the Ohioana Library has issued some forty-five pamphlets and brochures relating to its work and holdings as well as to Ohio cultural affairs; granted four fellowships for research on Ohio topics, and has held annual meetings for members, Ohio authors and composers, with average attendances of three hundred. In its early days, the Library depended almost entirely on volunteer workers; only in recent years has it had full-time salaried staff members.

It has been able to accomplish so much because of two things: the enthusiasm of its organizers and supporters and the state pride and generosity of the people of Ohio when it came to donating books and records. People in possession of historical materials are surprisingly ready to give them to a library if they are convinced that their donations will be preserved and cherished. The Ohioana Library has stressed the fact that it is a reference collection whose possessions do not circulate, and hence do not run the risk of loss or damage.

Its initial operations took this general form: an organizing committee was set up comprised of people whose names carried weight, and who were at the same time enthusiastic about the project. They represented various groups, interests and sections of the state. As their executive, they chose Mrs. Florence Head, a librarian and book reviewer of exceptional talent and zeal, without whose devotion the project would probably never have succeeded. This committee applied itself to the task of listing all living and deceased Ohio authors. Each member furnished the names of those authors who had worked in his own field of interest or section of the state. Whenever possible, authors, publishers and others were asked to donate copies of books.

Libraries were invited to contribute extra or unwanted copies. Thus a unique collection was built up.

The burden did not rest on the shoulders of members of the organizing committee alone. A chairman was named for those counties where a suitable person could be found. His (and in most cases, her) duties were to accomplish the same sort of thing performed by the committee members, and more besides. The chairmen were, and are still counted on to interest local residents in becoming dues-paying members of the Ohioana Library Association. The chairmen inform the Library of new books published by county residents, and also secure biographical data on county authors. They arouse interest in the various publishing projects of the Library, and develop local support for its other undertakings.

As the years rolled on, interest in the Library snowballed. Publicity and public relations measures - some rather unusual - were employed to let the general public know about the organization. The result has been that hardly a week now passes that a stranger does not donate a book or other printed material, quite without solicitation. One of our major problems today is how to refuse unacceptable material without losing a friend.

In this brief account of the Ohioana story, I have stressed those aspects which seem to me to be most susceptible of imitation elsewhere. I believe that, mutatis mutandis, this pattern can be followed by other organizations seeking to collect local source materials. One element in the Ohioana Library's story is to me of particular importance: the emotional appeal - with all the dynamism which that implies - that inheres in

a project to collect, preserve and make good use of local writings, records, diaries, letters and like materials. People are delighted to learn of a responsible organization willing to accept family papers and books. The mobility and general rootlessness of American life make it difficult for the average family to hold on to such possessions, yet there is an unwillingness to relegate records to the trash basket. There is a certain talismanlike quality about them which forbids their destruction. To give them to a responsible organization is the ideal solution.

I desire now to emphasize the role of enthusiasm in the amateur historian's pursuit of local records, and the satisfaction that he can derive from that pursuit. He starts out by hunting for facts, of course, and at every step he has most rewarding experiences. He goes through the attics that Dr. Pargellis talked about. He also meets an amazing array of curious and interesting people, who relate interesting facts. The amateur historian will find this search in itself a pleasant experience, for it has been said that to travel hopefully is almost better than to arrive. Then, of course, there is the delightful pleasure of finding something rewarding.

I stress the pleasures and delights of local history for a definite reason. A great deal of the work in that field is being done - and will always be done - by amateur historians. This is as it should be, for there are not enough professional historians to cover the territory adequately. It follows that the professional historian, if he sincerely desires to see the field of local history cultivated, must be in part a recruiting agent for amateur historians. Emphasis upon delightful elements provide the professional with some bait for his quarry.

A marginal feeling -- one half-way between sheer pleasure and stark

utility -- is the feeling one gets when doing something really useful. The amateur historian should find pleasure in his constructive endeavor. The bits of information, the tiny heaps of data which he gathers, are like so many bricks. Each may be small in itself, but many of them assembled form something big and important. Another person -- a professional historian with more skill - could combine his own material with the amateur's to erect an histcrical edifice. The latter may then point to a footnote with the satisfaction that he found this fact and made that contribution.

Perhaps the greatest satisfaction to be derived by the amateur historian is that which comes from his self-education. Most right-minded adults can get pleasure from learning, a sense of growth and development. This is obtained, par excellence, from a study of history. As George M. Trevelyan pointed out in his Clio, a Muse and Other Essays, there is no intellectual activity, no scholarly discipline as educational as history. To be truly educated, one must have a grasp of history; indeed, a knowledge of history places one on the road to education.

I want to add a word about methodology, about the way I wish I had done my first extensive bit of research. I failed at first to realize that one should look at both the woods and the trees at the same time. That is, one must quickly relate local, detailed points to their general frame or setting. If, for instance, one is working on the development of musical interests among the Jews of Cleveland, he will first get all the detailed facts available for a given period; then he should study the development of general musical interests in Cleveland, in Ohio or the whole country for the same period. By alternating research between the particular and the general, and back again, he will maintain a constantly clear focus.

These remarks are clearly not for the ears of the experienced historians present. They were intended solely for the members of the audience who may be considering the plunge, as amateurs, into an historical project.

CHAIRMAN STORM: Our next discussant Dr. James H. Rodabaugh, has made a remarkable place for himself as a scholar and as head of an important department of The Ohio Historical Society. He will comment on Dr. Pargellis' paper.

DR. JAMES H. RODABAUGH [Head, Division of History and Science, The Ohio Historical Society]: Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel myself a bit envious of Dr. Pargellis, of the virile experience of his boyhood on the farm and the climbing of mountains. Yet in the time alloted to me, I wish to speak of other things, specifically about four points in the field of local history:

1) The possibility of overemphasis on local history and the distortions that may be produced;
2) A brief discussion of the term "local," as applied to local history;
3) A comment on what history is; and
4) The need for trained personnel or professional students of history.

Dr. Pargellis has directed his attention largely to the writing of history from the people's point of view. Some time ago, even before I studied his Conference paper, I read an article by Professor W. G. Hoskins of Oxford University, who had delivered three papers over the BBC on the subject of local history in England. I have this quotation from one of his talks, which I think applies here:

> In history, as in so much else, the consumer's end is usually ignored. It is all very well to lay down great policies in Westminster and London and to write history from the producer's angle, but let us hear more about the receiving end of the process which is, after all, one would have thought, the real test of good or bad government; and in the matter of history, only local history can tell us this.
>
> Here we have the consumer's view of history, such as this laconic comment in Josselin's diary under September 3, 1658: 'Cromwell died, people not much minding it.' One suspects that there are many events of which the national historians make much on which we should find a similar popular verdict.

This morning I was thinking about this quotation, and wondered how I could apply it to current history. I thought of Dixon-Yates and all the discussion that we have had about its contract. In all the newspapers I read, I have seen much on scandal and the suggestion of scandal, much on the allegation of a committed fraud or a possible fraud, but little or nothing about service -- service to people that this contract would have rendered or failed to render. In other words, the discussion actually should have boiled down, from the consumers' point of view, it seems to me, as to whether the Dixon-Yates contract could have rendered a reasonably good, efficient and cheap service in comparison with any other alternative. Yet from the national point of view, as reflected in Congress, by the reporters and radio commentators, the issue became one of fraud against the government.

Early history writing in America and, more than writing, early popular interest in history in this country, and to some extent in England -- in spite of the good things that were done, as indicated by Dr. Pargellis -- were basically antiquarian. I am not saying that now and then good histories were not produced, but, in the main, the production of and interest in history was antiquarian throughout most of the nineteenth century. We still find this antiquarianism in hundreds of our historical museums. I speak of the interest in relics and the type of things that went into such museums. It was an interest

in certain details, chiefly unusual or romantic, rather than a concern for relationships or meanings of objects and facts; and that kind of interest is reflected in some of our so-called historical writing of today.

I recall, for instance, Henry Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, which first appeared in 1847. I listed this volume, which went through several editions, for Dr. Pargellis in the Chicago Sun some years ago as one of the ten most important books on Ohio history. Yet Henry Howe's work is essentially antiquarian, and from our point of view, it is not good history. It is a collection or compilation, as he himself said, of stories and facts which he gathered for publication. Out of that kind of production of history sprang a good many myths. It grew out of the interest of Henry Howe, for instance, in local history, and he was guilty of passing many legends as fact on to succeeding generations.

The United States was flooded with county histories in the latter part of the last century, and there was always this emphasis upon the local scene without much understanding of or ability to distinguish fact from fiction, and without much regard for the local scene viewed against the background of the larger picture. The result was that distortion developed. An example of such distortion may be seen in the interpretation of the American frontier. Carl Bridenbaugh has called attention to it in several of his studies. In his recent review of Bridenbaugh's latest book in The New York Times, James Abram Flexner also gave vent to his feelings on the myth of the frontier. Thus the frontier, gradually moving westward from the Atlantic seaboard, is commonly interpreted as a crude, rural, simple and unsophisticated area. I think that the studies of Mr. Bridenbaugh and others show that this was not the case.

Right here in our own state, for instance, I feel there is a disturbing misinterpretation of our early history. I refer to it sometimes as the "log cabin" interpretation. My point may be clarified by a consideration of architecture. I have heard a school teacher going through our own museum declare, as he pointed at our log cabin: "This is the way our ancestors lived." It is not true that all our ancestors lived in log cabins, and they didn't all live in log cabins from the time they first arrived on the frontier. Marietta, our first settlement under the Ordinance of 1787, wasn't an all-log cabin town. There were log cabins, to be sure, but among them, almost immediately after the beginning of settlement, there were half-timber houses similar to structures in New England. By about 1800, General E. W. Tupper had built a beautiful Georgian home in Marietta, which would have compared favorably with the best homes in Massachusetts.

Cincinnati in 1796 was described by John Heckewelder as having two hundred or more houses -- "many of which are well built," he said, and many painted as well. Interestingly enough, they were painted red, just as Fort Washington, standing nearby, was also painted red. A number of these houses were of half-timber construction and had two stories; shortly the classical features of Georgian and Federal styles could be seen. A few years later, Cincinnati was to become a publishing center of great influence. It was soon known as the "Literary Emporium of the West," and was, in fact, one of the chief publishing centers in the United States. In other words, there was culture in the West, and it was brought to the West by Easterners. It was not left at home. The misinterpretation of the frontier, I think, is a result of too much emphasis and concentration upon the local area.

This leads me to my second point, and that is the question of the definition of local history. I maintain that when we concentrate on a local area to the point that we distort the truth, we are probably writing "local history." Probably we should be writing and thinking of "localized" history, which is the history of the local community in its proper place in the history of the state, nation and world. When we isolate a community and try to write its history as though it were the only one that exists, then I think we are writing "local history." Clearly, it is not good history. We can't write about the history of the Negroes or any other group in Cleveland or Cincinnati, for example, and isolate them from the people of other cultural groups among whom they are living. Nor can we isolate them from the larger community of the state and nation. I would suggest, therefore, that we localize history by interpreting it from the local point of view. In other words, we should write general history -- good history -- from a local point of view, or with a local emphasis, rather than try to write local history to the exclusion of everything else.

Thus we come to my third point, and that is: What is history? Good historiography is not the mere recording of facts. It is not just digging in books or manuscripts and getting a lot of material on cards, as Dr. Pargellis knows very well from his own experience. It is, of course, bringing all the facts together, and then putting them into their proper relationship and writing them into a good literary and interpretative narrative. At that point, we get into something much more complex and difficult than mere collecting and recording. We get into interpretation, the point at which the creative part of the operation begins. This is where the mind and imagination begin to operate. We haven't really had to activate them before.

We don't do much creative thinking when we are collecting facts. When we start to interrelate them and put them together, then the creative task begins. We not only interpret by establishing interrelationships, but we interpret also through the evaluation of the materials or data collected. Evaluation is a job for experts.

Today, in the teaching of Ohio history, which is required in the public schools under House Bill No. 76 (1955), the big problem is the lack of instructional material. There aren't any good textbooks on the subject for elementary school use. Since the law was passed, there has been a rush to produce the needed texts. Recently I have been looking over some manuscript material that, it is hoped -- at least the authors hoped -- may go into an Ohio history text. These authors worked hard and conscientiously, using the hundreds of sources that are to be found in the bibliographies of books on Ohio, or in the card catalogs under "Ohio History" in the libraries. Unfortunately, I find the authors cannot distinguish between good and bad histories of Ohio, between sound interpretation and faulty conjecture.

Let's take as an example the study of the prehistoric Indians of Ohio. In a bibliography of Ohio archaeology which I helped prepare, over 1,300 titles are given. In this total, there were very few reliable titles; most of what was written isn't true or really doesn't have any value because of basic misinterpretation. Hundreds of the references in this bibliography have value only as site reports. In other words, they are records of the existence of sites, frequently with physical descriptions, but the interpretations of the purposes of the earthwork on the sites are completely erroneous. If we don't have sufficient training or experience to be able to evaluate what we are reading when collecting factual material, then we are going to write

bad history, and that is exactly what went into this bibliography - bad history.

The authors of Ohio history frequently draw on, let's say, E. O. Randall's interpretation of the Serpent Mound (1905), which is an erroneous account. Mr. Randall knew very little about the Adena and Hopewell Indians. The student or author today, who is not aware that Mr. Randall was unacquainted with the prehistoric cultures, isn't in a position to evaluate his writings. The ability to evaluate sources is an extremely important factor in the production of history. Such evaluation must be made in terms of our political, economic, social and cultural life.

And that, of course, suggests the need for trained people. I sometimes feel that historians ought to take a leaf from the medical doctors' notebook or the A.M.A., for example, with its program for maintaining the professional position of its members. The historians ought to have fixed standards and should work to maintain those standards and develop the historians' professional position in our society. I think professional resentment is justified when amateurs who can't write good history claim to be historians or are represented to the public as historians. It takes training, broad basic experience and deep understanding to be an historian, just as it takes training and experience to produce a doctor. At the same time I would say, however, that formal training doesn't necessarily produce a good historian, though, in general, it is the best background for one who would aspire to history writing.

Let me share a secret with you. About fifty per cent of the material that comes into my office for consideration for publication, either in our quarterly or in book form, has to be rejected because it is not competent work. Our editors do not set themselves up as judges; they don't have to. They let the sources used by the authors decide for them. They check the

manuscripts against the cited materials simply by going to the libraries and checking the footnotes, the quotations and the interpretations.

I make this point because, as I say, formal training doesn't necessarily produce a competent historian. Experience, I think, is as important as anything else in producing the historian, and it is the broad experience of living which instills deep understanding of humanity. By experience, I mean personal participation in and the absorption of the experiences of others through wide knowledge, perception, comprehension and sympathy. The broader the historian's experiences are, and the deeper his human sympathy and understanding, the more competent he is going to be in the interpretation of what we call history, which is of course the story of people.

CHAIRMAN STORM: Before we ask for comments from the audience, does Dr. Pargellis want to make any comments on the discussants?

DR. PARGELLIS: Let's see if anyone else wants to talk first.

RABBI JACK J. HERMAN [The Community Temple, Cleveland Heights]: I would like to ask Dr. Pargellis to elaborate on this point: Wherein does the personal approach enter into the writing of local history, such as the background of the historian?

DR. PARGELLIS: Dr. Rodabaugh says that history can only be written by trained historians, as children's fingers can only be wrapped, when they get scratched, by well-trained doctors. Of course, that isn't true, because the professional historian, the first-rate historian, depends so much upon the materials which the local historian has brought together. The professional could not have gone nearly as far as he has, and some of us don't think he goes as far today as perhaps he did in the past, without such materials.

My illustration is concerned with the would-be historian's own church or Dr. Marvin's music among the Jews in Cleveland. He would probably get into these subjects only because he loves them, therefore I am a little afraid of only the professional historian writing about them with a certain detachment from the community.

History is not in as sound a position today as it was in the nineteenth century, which interpreted almost everything in generic or developmental terms. It probably went too far in doing that. It, for example, thought that it settled the problem of religion, once and for all, by producing The Golden Bough, in which Fraser seems to have convinced himself and many others that once it could be shown that the origins of religion lay in fertility rites among primitive peoples then the meaning of religion was disposed. In the mid-twentieth century, on the other hand, we don't seem to think developmentally enough, nor do we retain that measure of sanity which I think the intelligent man ought to have.

I believe in the historical approach and the philosophical approach, the two great and twin disciplines. I am humanist enough to say that, and also leave enough for the social sciences.

DR. HARVEY WISH /Professor of History, Western Reserve University/: I would like to ask Dr. Pargellis how we are to keep the developmental approach if we believe that all facts are unique. I don't think you actually believe this, but I thought you implied it in your paper. If we are going to think of local history in terms of just so many unique facts, just how are we going to get any development out of unique facts? By definition they cannot develop.

DR. PARGELLIS: Of course, you are quite right. I didn't mean to leave that impression. What to me is so important is the fitting of a lot

of individual facts into a stream, the banks and the course of which I can or once hoped I could chart. What I said about uniqueness was only to counteract what sometimes is too great a tendency on the part of people who are absolutely determined that the stream is going in one direction, and will always go in that direction. Sometimes the stream, after all -- I am getting into complications now -- is made up of individual actions.

In this sense, as I indicated in my paper, there isn't any uniform public opinion. I can abstract from your mind, and from this mind and from that mind, attitudes and an expression of your notion at the moment as to whether you would vote for Adlai Stevenson or someone else, but that is an abstraction. That is not the whole of the reality.

I don't ever want to be put up as saying that I believe only in the unique. It would be silly. There would be no relation then between one unique fact and another. You have to interpret to be an historian. You cannot be absolutely sure of what is going to happen the day-after-tomorrow.

DR. WISH: Wouldn't you say it is this very idea of uniqueness that makes so many of those county, regimental and church histories useless?

DR. PARGELLIS: But don't you think they are useful for the historian if they simply supply facts? I would like them more if they were Dr. Rodabaugh's kind of history. Take Lloyd Lewis and Bruce Catton on the Civil War, both of whom have used regimental histories as a source of facts for the excellent books they have written -- more so, I think, than any other historians in our day. The reason why both of them liked regimental histories was because they give an unparalleled glimpse into the individual soldier's reaction to Grant and to army life and even to a battle or, once in a long, long while, to a campaign. The very stuff of Mr. Lincoln's Army comes out of regimental histories. I wish such local histories were better histories, but one can use almost all of them.

CHAIRMAN STORM: Are there other comments?

MR. ABRAHAM NEBEL: Of what value are unrecorded stories handed down through the generations?

DR. PARGELLIS: When the historian deals with memories, and that is what this is, presumably memories of a person, he must interpret them with every considerable grains of salt.

If a man's memories cannot be verified in any way, or if he points out things which the historian who is at home in the period and the area knows perfectly well couldn't have happened, the historian is apt to say, "This man's memories I don't think I will trust." However, if he can find enough evidence in the recital allow him to say, "Well, seventy-five per cent accurate; this is a pretty good one; I think this one is all right, and the twist this fellow has added is something I have never seen before and is most useful" -- that is sound historical method.

I think it is very worth-while to record memories. Have you ever heard of Professor Allan Nevins' Oral History Project? Something ought to be said about it in this conference. Professor Nevins began this Project with a small grant from the Rockefeller Foundation; Columbia University has also been supporting its work. The Project selects a man of more or less importance -- former-Secretary of State Stimson, for example -- and has a well-trained interviewer read everything that has been written by Stimson as well as books about the events through which he moved. The interviewer defines a number of discussion areas, and asks, "Now, Mr. Stimson, I don't quite understand all the circumstances about this incident. What went through your mind at this particular moment? Would you elucidate?" The interview is then preserved by tape recorder.

Nevins has gone to many people and said, "You have lived a pretty

important life for New York, or for this country, and we would like to put your reminiscences down on tape, transcribe them, and get them into the archives of Columbia University because they are going to be of use to future historical scholars." In almost no cases has he had an outright rejection. The interviewer spends up to three to six months recording a single individual's memories. The transcription is sent back for additions, deletions and corrections. It is then typed up again in two copies. The narrator gets one, while the other is put into the Columbia archive, sometimes with the provision that it shall not be used by scholars until after the narrator's death.

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For the development of any historical project, it seems to me this is something well-worth bearing in mind, and I am very glad you reminded me.

MR. RAVEN McDAVID /Western Reserve University/: I think certain types of history, such as the kind I am interested in -- the history of the development of American regional speech -- demonstrate that oral material is the only thing that is really valid.

The historical problem must be dealt with in regionally significant terms. In my work, I have to try to pick up local grammatical forms on the run. I think that research into superstitions, for example, depends more on the cooperation of live informants than on historical records. I believe that ninety per cent of this type of material must come from interviews.

CHAIRMAN STORM: I am sorry that the mention of the Oral History Project came at the very end of our meeting, leaving much more to be said, because if we embarked on that subject, even I could add a bit to it. However, I must tell you that our second session is soon to start. To all of you, the sponsors extend their very hearty thanks for being with us this morning.

LUNCHEON SESSION

Carl Wittke, Chairman

CHAIRMAN CARL WITTKE [Dean, Graduate School, Western Reserve University]: This gathering, as you know, has as one of its sponsors Western Reserve University, an institution which those of us who are associated with it like to believe not only plays an important role in the national field of scholarship and learning, but is particularly eager to devote its resources to the service of this community to which it belongs and from which it gets so much of its strength. It is therefore, very appropriate and very gracious of the President to join us here.

I would like to introduce him to you and ask him to extend a few words of greeting on behalf of the University.

DR. JOHN S. MILLIS [President, Western Reserve University]:

Dr. Wittke, Mr. Zevin, Mr. Storm, ladies and gentlemen: In a sense, this is a rather unique situation, a unique opportunity. As an astronomer, I frequently use the expression "a constellation of institutions of culture and education which compose the University Circle area" -- the center of culture and education, I think, in the Western Reserve.

Here are two institutions, Western Reserve University and the Western Reserve Historical Society, joined in part to sponsor this interesting conference on local history, both drawing their names as well as their patronage and their substance from a region which is extremely rich in history.

On behalf of the University, its officers, faculty and trustees, I am very happy to extend a word of welcome to you, to express the hope that you are well pleased with the arrangements and the program, and that you will feel that the day has been and will be extremely rewarding, so much so, in fact, that I hope you will want to come back again when you have some more things to talk about in the field of local history.

CHAIRMAN WITTKE: I could introduce the next speaker in a variety of ways. He is the very successful President of The World Publishing Company, and has brought that organization to a place comparable with that of the leading publishers of the country. I can also introduce him as our host on this occasion, because it is the President of The World Publishing Company who has furnished us this delightful luncheon.

I have known Mr. Ben Zevin for quite a long time, and would like to introduce him as a very generous, kindly and public-spirited citizen who has a mind and a character that is particularly alert to all good causes and who can be counted upon on every occasion.

MR. BEN D. ZEVIN /President, The World Publishing Company/: Thank you, Dr. Wittke. Ladies and gentlemen. I am a little in awe at this constellation to which Dr. Millis referred. I am accustomed to meeting scholars, authors and historians but one at a time. I don't know of anything I could say to you that will not be said better or has not already been better said at this morning's session.

I have had some experience with regional history publishing, which I regard as all-inclusive. It includes cities, ethnic groups, corporations, institutions and the like. It seems to me that the publication of regional history is not only desirable as an end in itself, but as source material

for the historian of the future.

I would like to relate one experience I had with a regional book, if you want to call it that. Some years ago, we published the history of a railroad; in its seven or eight hundred pages, the book is replete with the history of the region through which the road operated. It contains much information and facts of value for people who are not exclusively interested in the operation and the economic development of our rail lines. During the course of preparation of the book, I had a conversation with an officer of the corporation, and commended him in glowing terms on his idealistic participation in the publication of this volume. He said, "Oh; no. We did it strictly in self-defense. We had all manner of material and documents, and had gotten to a point where nobody could remember not only when we acquired a certain railroad many years ago, but where we could find the information and the legal documents to determine the manner in which a particular spur was obtained."

It occurred to me that if a corporation has so much difficulty in keeping its own records, how much more difficult it must be for a community. Therefore I believe it is very commendable on the part of your sponsors to organize this day's session, and it is very commendable of you to participate. I want to wish you well in your deliberations today.

DR. WITTKE: The session this morning, as you well know, was devoted to the broad question of the interpretation and writing of local history. From here on, the program is directed more specifically to the project which we are formally launching today, namely, the production of an authentic, objective and readable history of the Jewish community of Cleveland, one of a half-dozen similar studies being made throughout the country by the American Jewish History Center.

This project is under the direction, on a national scale, of Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia, one of our ablest and certainly one of our most prolific historians. Dr. Nevins could not be here, but he has sent a brief statement which I would like to read to you.

Message to the Conference

Allan Nevins
Columbia University

The Cleveland Conference marks a milestone in the progress of the American Jewish History Center. The path before us now begins to brighten. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Louis M. Rabinowitz; thanks to the far-sighted planning of President Louis Finkelstein, Provost Moshe Davis and others; thanks to Dr. Joseph Rappaport and thanks to the readiness with which idealistic workers throughout the country have kindled to the vision raised before them, we can feel that we have well begun our journey. There rises before our eyes a shelf on which book after book shall find a place -- not commonplace books, but volumes that will constitute a distinct addition to American history, rich in content and unique in flavor. Already research for the study of the Cleveland community is well under way, and the work of writing will be pushed forward energetically. Already in other centers -- in Los Angeles, in Milwaukee, in Montreal, in Vineland, and in Miami -- plans have been matured, materials have been partly collected, and in some instances chapters have been written. A fabric which two years ago was only a creation of the imagination begins to take on the lineaments of a solid, and we trust, enduring structure.

The foundations for this structure, we believe, have been carefully and truly laid. There comes a time in the career of every group, every community, every national element, when it feels that its contributions to the nation need to be carefully appraised. Three hundred years after the first Jewish settlement in America, the hour has assuredly struck when the work of the American Jewish group should be measured and assayed. The spirit in which this great scholarly undertaking should be carried through should

above all else be an honest spirit. It should be equally disdainful of apologetics and of boastfulness; it should scorn superficial effects and the hasty half-truths of those who do not delve deeply into institutional life. Yet it must at the same time be animated by a sense of the heroic and inspiring character of the story to be told. For the history of American Jewish life is a noble drama; a tale of struggle against adversity, of toilsome effort to maintain ancient moral and cultural values, of brilliant achievement in leavening our national life with new ideas and higher aesthetic ideals. Our shelf of books, soon to come into being, will probe realistically into the roots of American Jewish growth; it will describe success and failure, the tragic and the comic, the distasteful and the happy; but as it grows it will shine with a lustre all its own.

In Cleveland, pausing for a moment to look backward and forward, to take breath for renewed exertions, let us congratulate ourselves that we have so noble a task.

CHAIRMAN WITTKE: The speaker who will make the main address at this luncheon, Dr. Moshe Davis, is Assistant Professor of American Jewish History and Provost of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He is co-director of the American Jewish History Center, which is supervising this nationwide undertaking, and from which the Cleveland study will emanate. He has lectured in Israel on American Jewish history, and has published and edited a number of volumes in his particular field. It is interesting to point out that he was the first program editor of the "Eternal Light" radio program, which I think some of you have enjoyed as much as I have as being a rare program of real historical value and extraordinary dignity and effect. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Dr. Moshe Davis.

The Cleveland History of the American Jewish History Center

Moshe Davis
The Jewish Theological Seminary of America

Mr. Chairman, President Millis, Mr. Zevin, members of the Conference, honored guests: By way of introduction to the theme of this session, I wish to express my gratitude, on behalf of the American Jewish History Center of The Jewish Theological Seminary, to the co-chairmen of the Conference and to all who have made both the Conference and the Cleveland study possible. Indeed, I believe that the contribution of those who help to bring a history to life is also part of accurate historical writing.

This morning, Mr. Storm told us that his initial attraction to Dr. Pargellis was the result of a stumble over a footnote. I can declare that I was first attracted to Dean Wittke by a preface - the one to his work, We Who Built America. Introducing the saga of the American immigrant, he presented his father as the symbol of that story -- "a humble but honorable fragment of the record of forgotten thousands who have helped to build this nation." I wanted to meet the father's son. This desire was realized when the work was begun on the history of the Jewish community in Cleveland. While, as I will soon indicate, we are still in the initial stages of this project, I do not exaggerate when I say that Dean Wittke has already become a pillar of strength and encouragement. Indeed, this distinguished group of historians is gathered here today, in large measure, as a result of the personal interest and concern which Dean Wittke has invested in our work.

Obviously, the writing of the history of any segment of the American population (in our case, the Jewish group) requires the thorough investigation of source materials in the general area. To this end, close

collaboration with local historical associations and libraries becomes indispensable. Mr. Colton Storm, Director of the Western Reserve Historical Society, joined the planning committee of this Conference almost as soon as he came to Cleveland. We are fortunate that Mr. Storm's scholarship and experience are available to guide us through Cleveland's historical records.

Our host at this luncheon session, Mr. Ben D. Zevin, is one of Cleveland's leading citizens. His contributions to the American literary scene are well known, and his publishing deeds speak most eloquently for him, especially to this audience. Quite apart from his magnificent work in the religious literary field, Mr. Zevin is today one of the most active publishers of regional history in this country. Two of The World Publishing Company's most recent accomplishments - both of which, I believe, relate to this Conference - reveal his perceptions and spiritual motivations: Andersonville, which has been voted the greatest American novel of the year, and the new edition of the Jewish Publication Society's translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. On the local Cleveland scene, Mr. Zevin symbolizes the inter-action of general and group cultures by his sponsorship of this session in which historians of diverse backgrounds and disciplines are brought together in academic council.

A word of gratitude, also, to the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland. Pioneering in virtually every area of Jewish social service, the Federation has emerged as one of the leading communal agencies in the nation. The active association, therefore, of the Federation in the Center's Cleveland study is a source of gratification and encouragement. A grant has been made toward the costs involved in local research. But more important than its financial help is the spirit in which the Federation, as the over-arching community agency, serves as channel and guide for the Center in its effort

to prepare an objective and definitive history of the Jewish community in this city.

While I have referred to the Federation as a corporate entity, I too, like Dr. Pargellis, am mindful that every group is a composite of individuals. At this time I can name but a few of the men who have been working most intimately in the preparatory stages of our work: Judge Albert A. Woldman,Chairman of the Federation's History Committee; Frank Joseph and Irving Kane, members of the Board and the History Sub-Committee; Henry L. Zucker, Executive Director of the Federation; Harry Barron (now Director of the New Orleans Jewish Community Federation) and Sidney Vincent, Assistant Director of the Federation and its liaison executive with the Center.

Finally, I want to thank all of you, this entire assembly of academicians and civic leaders, for your interest in our work. Gathered together at these sessions are historians and social scientists from every part of Ohio, representing some twenty-five institutions of higher learning. We are joined at this luncheon meeting by a distinguished group of representative citizens of this community, men of affairs who are devoted to the advancement of the cultural and spiritual life of the city and nation.

On this occasion, the American Jewish History Center formally launches its history of the Jewish community of Cleveland. And through you, who are assembled here, we address ourselves to the entire community, soliciting its active interest in the projected study. I shall describe briefly the scope of the project, enlarge upon some of the problems which face us, and indicate the kind of help we seek. Our enterprise, if it is to succeed, must be conceived as a partnership in which the living human components of the history have as much to do with the compilation of material as have those

who are doing the actual writing.

The American Jewish History Center of The Jewish Theological Seminary was established two years ago. It is sponsored by Louis M. Rabinowitz, patron of scholars and learning. Professor Allan Nevins is Director of the Center. Basic to the program of the Center is its definition of scope and methodology, both of which, we believe, represent an experiment in the writing of American religious and ethnic history.

We approach the writing of American Jewish history with the realization that the opportunity offered to all religious and ethnic groups to become organically part of American society along political, economic and social lines is an impressive phenomenon in history. But even more profoundly significant is the fact that in America these religious and ethnic communities were encouraged to express and develop their religious and cultural values to the best of their capacity and to contribute these values to the total complex of American civilization. This is the unique quality of the American experience. And this is the essence of the spiritual and cultural history of America.

Regrettably, the spiritual story of America (and I use spiritual in its broadest overtones - religious, cultural, ethnic) has not yet been told. One of the chief reasons for this neglect is the difficulty inherent in such an enterprise. Spiritual history is not a chronicle of events and national actions; it is the accumulated moral, ethical and creative decisions made by individual men in small groups which establish the climate for action and community cooperation. Before any such all-embracing study can be attempted, a great deal of preliminary spade-work will have to be done. It is in this area of American life that the Center hopes to make its special contribution.

The first phase of the Center's program is the preparation of a series

of Jewish community histories, each to be written as a case study in the spiritual history of America. Six communities have been selected covering the geographic expanse of America and reflecting the diverse social conditions of Jewish experience: Cleveland, Ohio; the agricultural communities surrounding Vineland, New Jersey; Southern Florida; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Montreal, Canada; and Southern California.

The spirit in which we plan to write these local histories was succinctly formulated by Professor Nevins. With characteristic insight, he described the relationship of national character studies and local history:

> The Biblical personages with all their grandeur and their transcendent significance to the world, are again local personages writ large. It was no mighty nation to which Samuel preached and over which Saul reigned; it was a small folk in a little land. It was by virtue of the force of character of the Hebrews and their determination to keep full historical records in their august lan guage, that these personages loom up in the world's view as the great forces they have been... To reveal it anew, and to show how it is being knitted, year by year, generation by generation, into the composite American character, is a task worthy of the most devoted pens.[1]

If this "grand view" of history is to be effectively adapted to the biographies of religious and ethnic groups, a new methodological approach is called for. It requires, in the first place, a continuous interchange of opinion and insight with various sectors of the scholarly fraternity (the type of meeting of minds of which this very gathering is a splendid example). Jewish history should not be parochial history, yet it cannot

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[1] From Essence of Biography: Character Study, read at the Tercentenary Conference of Historians sponsored by the American Jewish Historical Society, September, 1954

be otherwise if it remains introvert. But parochialism is not the only derivative of pure "inside" history; such history is also inadequate and incorrect. It is clear that Jewish life in America developed as part of a total complex of historical forces. The Jews were integrated socially and economically in this country in a manner which had never been possible in their entire existence. Within the framework of American freedom, they continued to develop their tradition -- not only from the immediate past of Europe, but Judaism as it had evolved over the centuries in all the lands of their domicile. This transplanted tradition of the ages has had a new growth, an active development, in American society. It was shaped in a spiritual and cultural climate of free exchange of opinion and interaction between varieties of religious and secular thought. Consequently, the imperatives of relating Jewish experiences with Catholic and Protestant in their respective manifestations, as well as with the history of the various ethnic groups, are apparent.

The second step in our methodological approach calls for a thorough investigation of all general sources as well as Jewish records. Actually the Jewish historian can hardly begin to function unless he applies this method. In fact, he would have little material for the 18th and 19th centuries if he limited himself to strictly Jewish sources. For these two centuries there are no complete Jewish press sources for local history. The national Anglo-Jewish press emerged in the second half of the past century; the Yiddish press in the last decades of the century, while available Hebrew press titles for this period are limited to several scattered and brief publications. Therefore, without the general local press, the historian lacks the material which alone can give him a rounded and accurate picture of what actually took place.

The papers of Rabbi Herman and Dr. Rappaport, co-authors of the projected study, and Mr. Judah Rubinstein, local research associate, will offer ample proof of the point I am making. They could not have been written without the material culled from such sources as The Cleveland Register, 1819-20, The Whig, 1835-6, The Daily Advertiser, 1836-8, The True Democrat, 1847-53 and The Plain Dealer, 1842- , as well as the national Jewish press.

One of the very first items to appear in the Cleveland press concerning the Jews was written even before they settled in the city. In 1819, some twenty years before the arrival of the first Jewish group, The Cleveland Register criticized the Maryland legislature for its restrictive religious laws.[2] This reference is significant not only in its own right, but because it establishes the tone for the many "invitations to freedom" with which the Cleveland press is replete during the entire century. In Cleveland, an interesting pattern took shape: the Jews were welcomed even before their arrival.

I am certain that the scholars in our midst require no further elaboration in order to completely understand the utter dependence of the Center on those American historians who are tilling related fields in religious, ethnic and local history. The purpose of this Conference will be served if the members of the professional guild will be alerted to our methodology and needs. Therefore I address my plea for close cooperation to the scholars assembled here. We need to share your insights and related materials, if we are to succeed in our effort to write the history of the Cleveland Jewish community as part of the larger pattern of American history.

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2 The Cleveland Register, March 16, 1819, p.4

But I wish also to direct my plea to the civic representatives gathered here. In this sense, I want to supplement Dr. Rodabaugh's excellent presentation. As indicated, the study will be prepared and written by trained historians. But we cannot function without the help of the community-at-large. For this reason, the general press, as was indicated, is indispensable. Yet in the writing of local history, it is still insufficient. Much of the sources, as local historians know all too well, must be "created." That is, they must be re-assembled and re-discovered. The memoirs, the diaries, the letters and the documents we are seeking are locked away in private family attics and closets. We need these resources and other literary remains which are in private hands. Moreover, clues to much of this material are catalogued in personal memories. These oral and written records are complementary to the press and other primary source materials, and must be tapped and made available if we are to have a properly balanced study. Here the laymen and the community-at-large begin to play their part.

In this regard, I can cite some exciting examples from our experiences with the Cleveland study. Two major documents came to our attention after the project was announced. The first is the Alsbacher MS which will be described in greater detail in Rabbi Herman's paper. But this much I can anticipate: as a result of the availability of this manuscript, the entire first chapter of the history of the Jews in Cleveland takes on new light. It gives the names of the first Jewish immigrants in Cleveland. If we piece together the letter which prefaces the listing with the oral account that has come down as a tradition in the family, we have a new interpretation of the character of the early Jewish community. As of this date, I am prepared to advance

the thought that the Cleveland Jewish settlement was one of the few planned Jewish group immigrations to America.

A second important record which has come to light is the Edward Rosewater Autobiography, now in the possession of the American Jewish Archives on the campus of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. [3]

The Rosewater Autobiography presents an important figure, who came to Cleveland in 1855 as a young immigrant lad. After an exciting career, he found his way to Omaha, where he became the editor of the Omaha Bee and ultimately one of the influential members of the Republican Party. The dramatic moment in Mr. Rosewater's life - he was the telegrapher whom Lincoln used to despatch the Emancipation Proclamation - represents but an anecdotal fringe of our Cleveland story. What is significant is the story of the family, many descendents of which are still in Cleveland. The real drama and character of American Jewish life and settlement emerge in the saga of the Rosewater family.

I have alluded to two vital documents which have come to our attention; they are examples also of others we have as yet not seen but which undoubtedly exist in private places. The Alsbacher document was shown to us by Mr. Abraham Nebel, a resident of this community, who has devoted many years to a prodigious search for early records. Among the papers in his possession are the naturalization papers of Simon Thorman, the first Jewish settler in Cleveland and probably the first Jew to be naturalized in this city (in 1842). We found (and this will have to be studied) a complete list of Cleveland participants in the Civil War, certainly a far more extensive list than I have seen in the published records. Mr. Nebel has agreed, I am pleased to report, to give us

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3 It is always a pleasure to acknowledge the continuing courtesies of Professor Jacob Marcus, Director of the Archives, and to welcome in our midst at this conference, his associate, Mr. Maxwell Whiteman.

access to this material.

What Mr. Nobel has given us, others too may possess. If our experience in local Jewish historiography teaches us anything at all, it tells us that there must be scores of such papers and records hidden away which could be of great value in our work. We ask civic leaders to help us ferret out this material.

In return for the material we ask of you, the Center will give this city a gift - the gift of your story assembled in permanent archival form. The entire archive is being processed by photo-duplication. One copy of all we assemble and annotate will be deposited in Cleveland. It will be a gift, we hope, which you will cherish, and it will be a continuing resource for our fellow-historians of other religious and ethnic groups. For our history casts light not only on Jewish developments but on other groups as well. Moreover, the importance of this communal archive will not be limited to Cleveland; it will serve the needs of national historians in other areas of the country. As such, the service you are rendering will be a service to the entire national Jewish community.

As I reflect upon the materials already accumulated, I think it fair to state that the Cleveland study demonstrates again that local history is national history in focus. The dominant patterns of American history are already beginning to emerge in their direction and unique spirit. And as we trace the growth and development of the Cleveland Jewish community, as part of the history of the entire region, we become aware of broad aspects of acculturation, population movements, and internal life in this leading city of Ohio. But the fact that in this city a special emphasis was placed on the role which religious and ethnic groups must play in a city's

spiritual growth continues to impress us. It is this emphasis that the Cleveland study of the American Jewish History Center wants to capture in its first case study of the spiritual history of America.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Moshe Davis, chairman

EARLY CLEVELAND JEWRY, 1840 - 1890: A CASE STUDY

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: I would like first of all, to introduce to you Dr. Joseph Rappaport of the American Jewish History Center. Dr. Rappaport was one of the most distinguished students of Professor Nevins. He has studied with him and worked beside him. He has had excellent teaching experience, and now is devoting himself to serving as the coordinator, co-researcher and co-author of these regional histories as they are being developed.

The Relation Of Jewish And General Institutional Development

Joseph Rappaport
American Jewish History Center

The survey party of the Connecticut Land Company, led by General Moses Cleaveland, came to the confluence of the Cuyahoga and the Lake in July, 1796. Along with maps, compasses, and land markers, the men brought an image of home towns. In the draft plan for Cleveland, two major streets converged on a public square, while crossroads stretched in every direction - a typical New England pattern. The General remarked, upon his return from New Connecticut, that within the span of a lifetime, the village bearing his name would be "as large as Old Windham."[1]

Job Stiles' wife accompanied him in the survey party; the two decided to stay on in the cabin built by the men. The following year, they were joined by Elijah Gun, Lorenzo Carter, Ezekiel Hawley, and James Kingsbury with their families - the latter from Alsted, New Hampshire. Thus, the Yankee Exodus reached the Western Reserve.

Images of Alsteds and Old Windhams were not limited to streets and public squares alone, for elements of New England culture and its way of life were also transplanted by the settlers. One Rhode Island newspaper advised emigrants to take along garden seed, a kettle in which to boil maple sap, a gun and ammunition, as well as a Bible. The editor also thought it best for those of the same faith to settle together "in order the sooner to secure a minister and schoolmaster."[2] The people of

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1 Cf. Kennedy, J. H., A History of the City of Cleveland, Cleveland, 1896, p. 1

2 Cf. Holbrook, S. H., The Yankee Exodus, New York, 1950, p. 26

Granville, Massachusetts, in fact, moved out en masse with pastor and deacons - and after a forty-six day trek, founded Granville, Ohio.[3]

In the history of Cuyahoga townships, the establishment of schools and churches quickly followed the development of means for physical survival. As the forest was cut, the seeds of New England culture were planted, and hybrid forms sprouted from new soil. Hence a system of co-education was initially installed, in contrast to an established New England practice. In order to construct a house of worship, five families - Presbyterians and Congregationalists - formed a united church in Euclid (later East Cleveland) in 1807. The congregation came under the care and assistance of the Hartford Presbytery and its itinerant preachers.[4]

Cleveland village soon began to develop rapidly. Early in 1826, it was noted that forty houses were under construction. The completion of the Ohio Canal in 1832 transformed the town into an active trading port. A decade later, Cleveland had over 6,000 residents; European immigrants, among them Bavarian Jews, joined the pioneer settlers and their children.

Comparable social forces characterized the exodus of Yankees and Bavarians, bringing the two elements together in Cleveland. The desire for economic improvement was an impelling motive. Over the mountains and over the seas, there was opportunity for a better life. Here lay new lands which also provided escape from the social and political restraints of town and principality. By 1839, some 10,000 Jews had left

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3 Mathew, L. K., The Expansion of New England, Boston and New York, 1909, pp. 180-181

4 Rose, W. G., Cleveland: The Making of a City, Cleveland and New York; 1950, pp. 56-57

Bavaria. A handful, following the general German immigration, found their way into the Buckeye State - over the Erie Canal, the Ohio River and the National Road.

As with Moses Cleaveland's survey party, Jewish settlers brought their own image of communal organization into Ohio. This assumed concrete form with the launching of Congregation Bene Israel in Cincinnati in 1824 and the Israelitish Society of Cleveland fifteen years later.

Simson Thorman came to the "Forest City" (as Cleveland was known) from Unsleben, Bavaria in 1837. Two years later, his landsmann Simson Hopfermann arrived with a Torah Scroll, reminiscent of the accoutrements of Cleveland's pioneer settlers. At least ten other Jews arrived in the same year as Simson Hopfermann. They quickly organized a congregation, and acquired a burial plot. In view of the absence of a rabbi, lay leaders conducted religious services.

In 1841, internal differences led to the formation of a second congregation, Anshe Chesed, which organized services and a co-educational all-day school in a building on Ontario and Prospect Streets.[5] This structure was destroyed by fire early in 1845. As the two congregations were now in need of a new place of worship, a reunion was effected, while an appeal for financial aid for the construction of a synagogue was published in Jewish periodicals in Philadelphia and London.[6] We may compare the assistance rendered the church in Euclid by the Hartford Presbytery with the contributions made to the synagogue building fund by Congregations Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia

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5 Cleveland Herald, February 7, 1842, p. 2; The Occident (Philadelphia), vol. 10, no. 6 (September, 1852), p. 306; The American Israelite (Cincinnati), vol. 35, no. 1 (July 6, 1888), p. 2

6 The Occident, vol. 2, no. 12 (March, 1845), p. 599 and vol. 3, no. 8 (November, 1845), pp. 416-417; The Jewish Chronicle (London), vol. 1, no. 17 (May 2, 1845), p. 158; Voice of Jacob (London), vol. 4, no. 102 (May 9, 1845), p. 158

and Beth Elohim of Charleston.[7]

When the new synagogue on Eagle Street was dedicated in August, 1846, the editor of the Cleveland Herald noticed the following inscription, neatly framed and suspended on the wall: "A Testimonial of Gratitude to J. M. Woolsey, Esq. and Lady, for their liberal assistance in erecting this Edifice."[8] John M. Woolsey was one of the founders of the Medical College and Orphan Asylum. The Herald also noted that the brick structure of the Jewish house of worship had "nearly the same style as the Baptist Church."[9] Indeed, the two were built by the same contractor.

An analysis of Jewish and Yankee institutional origins in Cleveland reveals comparable developmental trends. The earliest corporate forms established by each group were direct offshoots of institutions in communities of origin. Indeed, images of Old Windhams and Unslebens were as real as Cuyahoga landscapes. Each group maintained its integral character through the years - the heritage of Puritan wellsprings on the one hand, and Jewish tradition on the other. At the same time, the new scene produced important changes in group characteristics.

Thrown back to the frontier existence of their forefathers, Cleveland's

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7 The Occident, vol. 4, no. 2 (May 1846), p. 108 and vol. 4, no. 7(October 1846), p.358

8 Cleveland Herald, n. d., quoted in The Occident, vol. 4, no. 6 (September, 1846), p. 306

9 Cleveland Herald, October 7, 1845, p. 2

pioneer settlers combined elements and necessities of a primitive existence with the social and cultural heritage of a century-and-a-half of New England life. As was indicated, the forest brought Congregationalists and Presbyterians together in a hybrid church. Their first house of worship, a log cabin, was reminiscent of seventeenth century Massachusetts.

While pioneer settlers had to adjust to a wilderness, early Jewish residents had to learn to live with Yankees and their immigrant neighbors. But whereas the forest was not a new experience in New England progeny, the American city was indeed a unique element in immigrant Jewish lives. Thus, the formation of the Israelitish Society was more than an expression of religious faith; it also reflected a quest for balance in an unfamiliar social scene.

Striving actively - and very consciously - for adjustment, the Jewish community began to adopt features of the social organization of the general community. It initially turned to the Woolseys for assistance and to the Baptist congregation for the design of its house of worship. Early Jewish literary, fraternal and welfare institutions were a synthesis - a cross fertilization - of European-Jewish features and established Cleveland forms.

The first local group to receive charitable donations was the Western Seamen's Friend Society, formed in 1830. This was a Protestant mission, which maintained a lodge for destitute Lake sailors. The Hebrew Benevolent Association, formed in 1855, immediately set aside a fund for the construction of an asylum for aged, indigent and transient Jews.[10] The first organized forums and debates were held around 1820, leading to the formation of the Newburgh Literary Society in 1827. A Young Men's Literary Association

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10 Rose, W. G., op. cit., p. 122; The Occident, vol. 15, no. 2 (May, 1857), p. 100

was formed nine years later. Similar activities, with emphasis upon general and Jewish values, characterized the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Society, formed in 1860.[11] A Massachusetts namesake, Concord Lodge No. 15 of the Masonic Order, formed in 1811, had its counterpart in a Biblical namesake, Solomon Lodge No. 16, B'nai B'rith, launched in 1835.[12]

In the growth of the Forest City, Jewish seedlings blended with the general social and cultural verdure. At the same time, Jewish workers and entrepreneurs contributed to material expansion. The Kochs and Blacks helped lay the foundations of the city's clothing industry, which by the turn of the century was exceeded in volume only in New York and Chicago. The Peixottos and Manns in oil refining; the Wieners in Lake shipping; and the Halles in retailing all provided ingredients for metropolitan development.

Two underlying elements are inherent in the historical development of the early Jewish community, as well as in the character of other ethnic organizations in the city. Thus, the Jewish community maintained certain religious and cultural identity through the years. Its synagogues, schools and ideological institutions embodied special, intrinsic features. Secondly, intrinsically Jewish elements were accommodated to the larger pattern of life in the city. In the process, synagogues and other Jewish institutions blended special features with general forms, as to radically distinguish them from their counterparts in Europe.

The cultural baggage brought by the Jewish immigrant was aired in a

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11 Rose, W. G., op. cit., p. 108; Cleveland Leader, October 22, 1855, p. 3; The Israelite (Cincinnati), vol. 7, no. 22 (November 30, 1860), p. 174; The Jewish Messenger (New York), vol. 8, no. 23 (December 14, 1860), p. 180

12 Rose, W. G., op. cit., p. 66; The Occident, vol. 9, no. 1 (April, 1853), p. 77

social climate. In the process, the shape and form of the ancient fabric was altered, yet its thread held firm. We may note both the retention and the accommodation of Jewish tradition at two Anshe Chesed synagogue dedication ceremonies.

The consecration of the synagogue on Eagle Street in 1846 was marked by traditional German Jewish ritual. Commenting on the liberality of the Cleveland Herald's review of the ceremonies, one Jewish editor felt it was all proof "that the strict observance of our duties does not diminish the good opinion which non-Israelites have for us."[13] The cornerstone ceremonies at Anshe Chesed's Scovill Avenue synagogue forty years later reveal the deep impress of general social patterns upon almost two generations of congregational existence.

The members of Anshe Chesed, Tifereth Israel and Bene Jeshurun gathered before the Masonic Temple, from which they marched to the site of the new synagogue, accompanied by the Free and Accepted Masons, and led by Fischer's Band. At the exercises, Rabbi Michaelis Machol, of Anshe Chesed, noted: "...we have all reason to feel happy and joyful at this occasion--as Americans on this soil, consecrated by man's highest ideal, liberty; as Israelites, on this ground devoted to the worship of the only one Eternal."

The cornerstone ceremonies included a Masonic ritual in which the accuracy of the stone's position was tested; then grain and wine were poured upon it, and the stone tapped with a mallet to the accompaniment of rhythmic clapping by the assembled lodge members. Speaking in German, Rabbi Aaron Hahn of Tifereth Israel declared: "Whenever I hear that Israel is erecting a new temple for God I rejoice, and such a grand demonstration as this is proof that the dark days of the persecution of our race are past,

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13 Ibid., vol. 4, no. 6 (September, 1846), p. 307

that a religious feeling still exists among the rising generation of young Hebrews, and that the noble religion of Judaism is flourishing under the proud banner of the stars and stripes." Reverend Frederick L. Hosmer, of the Church of the Unity, recited the closing prayer.[14]

In post-Civil War Cleveland, Jews drew cultural sustenance from a social mainstream fed by diverse ethnic and religious tributaries. Thus, factors of accommodation and adjustment enter into an analysis of Jewish religious, educational and ideological developments. At the same time, the growth of Jewish social, welfare, business and labor institutions paralleled their non-Jewish counterparts. This concept of parallelism becomes an historical imperative for the latter areas, and is still another element in the development of the Jewish community.

An example of parallelism may be seen in the history of the Young Men's Christian and Hebrew Associations. Both were products of literary and congregational groups. The Hebrew Association, originally formed in 1880, succeeded a young men's cultural society at Tifereth Israel, while the Christian Association had been formed twenty-six years earlier by a group which had been holding prayer meetings and literary gatherings. Both expressed the same general purposes upon formation, and both experienced temporary demise after several years of existence. The revival of the Hebrew Association in 1889 saw the emulation of the social and cultural program of its counterpart, with emphasis upon Jewish values. The appellation "Hebrew" was later dropped, and the name Young Men's Jewish Association adopted.[15]

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14 The American Israelite, vol. 33, no. 18 (October 29, 1886), p. 5

15 Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 27, 1880, p. 1; American Hebrew (New York), vol. 4, no. 13 (November 12, 1880), p. 153 and vol. 66, no. 2 (November 17, 1899), p. 34; The American Israelite, vol. 35, no. 29 (January 17, 1899), p. 3; Rose, W. G., op.cit., pp. 230, 265, 343, 525

We may point to other examples of parallelism in the area of welfare and organized philanthropy. In caring for its own, the Jewish community experienced many of the problems encountered by other social and ethnic groups.

The first Hebrew Benevolent Society was followed by a conglomeration of Widow and Orphan, Hungarian, Bohemian and ladies' aid societies. The most important of these was the Hebrew Relief Association, formed in 1875. Yet the hodgepodge of groups - competing for, and draining away, available funds - made for a haphazard Jewish welfare program. A similar picture presented itself in the general community. One local history speaks of an "overabundance of welfare societies...conducting campaigns...some of them paying exorbitant commissions to agents who solicited finances."[16] In 1881, leading philanthropies in the city, including the Hebrew Relief Association, formed the Charity Organization Society.

Consolidation also took place in Jewish welfare activity. Unable to handle the Russian Jewish influx in 1883, the Hebrew Relief Association termed it all the "immigration trouble." "In the future," declared the Association, "if Pittsburg or Philadelphia sends any Russians to Cleveland, they will be sent back."[17] However, with the second great wave of Russo-Jewish immigration in 1892, an all-community organizing committee for the intergration of existing services was set up.

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16 Ibid., p. 436

17 The American Israelite, January 26, 1883, p. 253 and June 13, 1884, p. 2

During the Depression of '93, a Personal Service Society was formed by representatives of various women's benevolent societies. This was succeeded in 1894 by the Cleveland Council of Jewish Women. The Council and the Hebrew Relief Association then formed a joint relief committee. In 1903, the Federation of Jewish Charities was organized as a budgeting and planning agency.[18]

The building of Jewish institutions in Cleveland synthesized traditional Jewish values and forms with elements inherent in the city's milieu. Institutional growth thus was featured by factors of accommodation and parallelism. Throughout, the Jewish community maintained its composite character.

Inherent here is the fact that the immigrant Jew found a home in the city. It was an at-homeness such as only a free society could make possible. The Jew was welcome, and his contribution honored. At the aforementioned Anshe Chesed cornerstone ceremonies, Mayor George Gardner declared: "I congratulate you and our city that we have another beautiful temple."[19] At the third Anshe Chesed cornerstone ceremony in October, 1910, Rabbi Louis Wolsey referred to the new synagogue on Euclid Avenue as another segment in a "cord of historic tradition which we trust shall continue forever."[20] In 1893, at the celebration of the silver anniversary of the Jewish Orphan Asylum of Cleveland, Ohio Governor William McKinley complimented its builders on what was done "for your own people, and for good citizenship and for the country..."[21]

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18 Ibid., vol. 39, no. 14 (October 6, 1892), p. 2 and vol. 40, no. 17 (October 26, 1893), p. 3; American Hebrew, vol. 51, no. 25 (October 21, 1892), p. 805 and vol. 56, no. 2 (November 16, 1894), p. 54

19 The American Israelite, vol. 33, no. 18 (October 29, 1886), p. 5

20 The Jewish Review and Observer (Cleveland), vol. 37, no. 44 (October 28, 1910), p. 6

21 The American Israelite, vol. 40, no. 4 (July 24, 1893), p. 7

These statements characterize the history of the Jewish community of Cleveland. The little synagogue on Eagle Street, the Hebrew Literary Society of Civil War vintage, Morris Black's garment factory, the Hebrew Benevolent Association and the Council of Jewish Women were embodiments of Jewish values and contributions. These organizations were integral elements in the social, cultural and economic structure of the city. As they built their own institutions, and joined in the development of others, the Jews helped to build Cleveland. This is the overall theme of the history of Jewish life in the city.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: I think you will agree with me that you have had only a foretaste of what we may expect if we begin to probe Jewish and general communal records. I might point out that most of the material that was used in the Conference paper was from the national Jewish and local Cleveland press, while this emphasis on parallelism is also part of the very spirit of this conference.

As Jews helped to build Cleveland, they also built their own traditions. I now will ask Rabbi Jack J. Herman, who is responsible for the work on the territorial aspects of this joint enterprise, to speak on the "Inner Life of the Jewish Community" as it is reflected in the preliminary materials.

The Inner Life of the Jewish Community

Jack J. Herman
The Community Temple, Cleveland Heights

The inner life of the Jewish community of Cleveland is the story of the interaction of internal and external forces shaping it into an indigenous part of the American scene. Within a framework characterized by freedom and voluntary association, two aspects of this inner life, the religious and the socio-cultural, reveal most clearly the immigrant community marshalling its own resources to meet the challenge of a new environment. Unlike the political and economic, which represent in large measure the immigrant entering into existing communal structures, the former show the immigrant drawing directly upon the traditions and culture he carried with him to the land of his choice.

In coming to the United States, the immigrant Jew left behind a society hedged round with the traditions of centuries. A young country founded on principles of religious freedom, political democracy and economic opportunity allowed him to create a group organization of his own choosing and design. This basic factor of self-determination obtained to an even greater degree in the American West in the nineteenth century and, to particularize, in the Western Reserve. Here the weight of New England tradition and institutions was proportionately weaker. Instead of a unified society, seemingly towering against the newcomer, pioneer features of diversity and mobility tended to lessen the distance between native and immigrant.

These conditions helped generate a promising climate of opinion for Jews even before their settlement in Cleveland. In 1819, the Cleveland Register voiced its strong disapproval of the Maryland legislature, which denied Jews equality of political rights on religious grounds.[1] In 1825, the Cleveland Herald supported Major Mordecai Noah's colonization scheme, and felt certain that everyone would rejoice if the Major "improves the conditions of his Jewish brethren by directing their steps from the intolerant kingdoms of the Old World to the political Canaan of the New."[2]

The same interest in the progress of freedom for the Jews in Europe was manifested by the local press throughout the century. The Cleveland Plain Dealer in 1847 hoped that one day the "old Judean race" would enjoy true liberty -- legally, morally and socially.[3] The Leader denounced the persecution of the Jews in Moldavia in 1867 as a "backward movement inconsistent with the civilization of the age."[4] Germany's oppression of Jews in 1881 aroused the Plain Dealer to attack Bismarck and defend the victims. An editorial declared:

> Let those maltreated people come to this country ... We shall leave them to attend to their own business, not hesitating for a moment to trust to their excellent qualities for good citizens, and we shall offer to them the fullest liberty, political and religious, that may be consistent with our laws.5

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1 Cleveland Register, March 16, 1819, p. 2 and March 30, 1819, p. 4

2 Cleveland Herald, October 7, 1825, p. 3

3 Cleveland Plain Dealer, December 17, 1847, p. 2

4 Cleveland Leader, July 25, 1867, p. 4

5 Cleveland Plain Dealer, August 6, 1881, p. 4

To European Jews, freedom to live their own lives as they chose was a new experience. It could also be a disruptive one, since many Jews who emigrated to the United States also wandered from the faith. This much is made clear in the Alsbacher Document, one of the earliest pertaining to the Jews of Cleveland. Early in May, 1839, it appears, a group of Jewish emigrants from the Bavarian town of Unsleben set out to join Simson Thorman in Cleveland. As a memorial to the departing townsmen, their teacher, Lazarus Kohn, presented Moses Alsbacher, one of the group, with a list of those who were staying behind with the request that they be remembered in later years. More significantly, the Alsbacher Document contains a very explicit warning to those who were entering a country where the fast rules of Jewish community life did not hold:

> Friend! You are traveling to a land of freedom where the opportunity will be presented to live without compulsory religious education. Resist and withstand this tempting freedom and do not turn away from the religion of our fathers. Do not throw away your holy religion for quickly lost earthly pleasures, because your religion brings you consolation and quiet in this life, and it will bring you happiness for certain in the other life.
>
> Do not tear yourself away from the laws in which your fathers and mothers searched for assurance and found it.[6]

Mindful of Lazarus Kohn's warning, Cleveland's first handful of Jewish settlers drew together in the comforting familiarity of their religion. Unlike Jews who settled in the Atlantic ports of entry and found a functioning synagogal and communal organization, they had to create the institutions of their group existence. The organization of the Israelitish Society in 1839 is the starting point for a study of the internal development of the Jewish community of Cleveland.

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6 Alsbacher MS, American Jewish History Center

The general community followed with interest the religious activities of the Jewish settlers. The traditional observances of festivals were newsworthy items to the readers of the daily press, revealing how these immigrants were following the unfamiliar dictates of the Mosaic faith. The origins of Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, and their religious significance, were explained thoroughly. The Plain Dealer describes the Jewish fast of Yom Kippur in the following manner:

> Strict ritual observers wear a shroud while thus engaged, to remind them of the frailness of mortality, and blow upon shofars or sheeps horns, typifying the voice of the Almighty at the day of Resurrection. They improve this opportunity to exhort each other in forbearance; to the doing of charitable deeds; to praying for their enemies and for the good of the Government. They also recount the Divine promises that they shall reunite as a nation, read from the Scriptures, sing from the Psalms of David, and endeavor by rehearsing the history of the old Jewish race, to inspire their descendants with a higher love of their religion, and a firmer faith that they will yet realize all that the prophets predicted.[7]

Noting the demand for unleavened bread during the festival of Passover, the Plain Dealer reported that "within the last three days, twenty-eight barrels of flour had been used to bake the special Passover food."[8] By the same token, the press was quick to note deviations from the traditional norm. The prominent Cleveland divorce case in 1851, the first local Jewish divorce granted without traditional procedure, received widespread attention. Here, a divorce was granted by a lay leader who did not possess rabbinical authority and ordination.[9]

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7 Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 1, 1851, p. 3

8 Ibid., March 27, 1850, p. 2

9 Ibid., October 4, 1851, p. 3 and October 23, 1851, p. 2

The same spirit which motivated Lazarus Kohn's admonition to the Bavarian pioneers to continue in the faith of their fathers led to the establishment of full-time synagogue schools. In 1844, a year-and-a-half before the synagogue building was erected, the Anshe Chesed school was started, numbering forty pupils. The blending of two traditions was inherent in the curriculum which included, in addition to Hebrew and Bible studies, instruction in German, English, geography and mathematics. A special music department was set up early in its history for vocal instruction and liturgical teaching.

These developments received favorable comment in the city; the Daily True Democrat reported that "the Jews of this city have shown their devotion to education and the good of their race by establishing schools here."[10] The early experiment in full-time synagogue education was unsuccessful, however. The school, a carry-over of European parochialism, clashed with the principle and opportunities of free public education. When the congregation again split in 1850 over religious innovations, the financial burden of providing an all-day synagogue education soon led to its disappearance. In its place, the Sunday school and the afternoon Hebrew school arose to maintain as best they could the tradition of Jewish learning and religious training.

The division in 1841, the ultimate break in 1850 with the formation of Tifereth Israel, and the partial failure of the synagogue school bear testimony to the strains imposed upon the Jewish community by this new environment. The stirring inner experience of the New World,

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10 Daily True Democrat, December 18, 1849, p. 2

which challenged deeply rooted modes of behavior, brought about readjustments in the immigrant Jew's religious patterns. Habits acquired through the centuries in Europe were gradually altered. The innovations were at first ritualistic. Over a period of years, Tifereth Israel led the reform movement in Cleveland under the leadership of Rabbis Isidor Kalisch, Aaron Hahn and Moses J. Gries. As early as 1858, parts of the Tisha b'Av Service were deleted; prayers were cut from the Sabbath Service, and the sale of Mitzvoth, or the calling to the Torah, was eliminated to achieve a greater dignity in worship.

Nevertheless, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise commented sadly that ". . . in congregational matters, Cleveland had made no progress during the years -- the service continued in the same style as it was in Germany."[11] Rabbi Wise apparently forgot that each new group of immigrants had to find the path of Reform for themselves. From the intellectual circle of Cincinnati, he was able to pave the direction, but the community had to follow at its own pace.

The impact of Reform in the East eventually reached Cleveland. Introduced in New York in the 1840's, the organ was adopted by both Tifereth Israel and Anshe Chesed in 1861.[12] In the same year, Tifereth Israel introduced family pews and further changes in the service, resulting in a minority division. As the impact of the Reform movement weighed more heavily upon the community, the gradual whittling down of religious tradition reached its peak with the abolition of the second day of festival observances, the removal of the hat for worship, and the adoption of the Sunday service.

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11 The American Israelite, vol. 7, no. 3 (July 20, 1860), p. 23

12 Ibid., vol. 8, no. 4 (July 26, 1861), p. 31

Cleveland was especially adapted as a meeting ground for religious leadership. The geographic factor, the newness of the community itself, the absence of the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish tradition, and the non-existence of the concept of Kehillah (wherein jurisdiction is exercised by a central organ of communal authority) provided a neutral ground for the Cleveland Rabbinical Conference of 1855, called by Rabbi Wise. Here we have the beginnings of a systematized American ritual, Minhag America, representing initially the ritualistic and religious accommodation of the German Jew in a new climate. The acceptance of the Conference platform in Cleveland, despite the prestige of the gathering, still required time. Not until the end of the nineteenth century, under the guidance of Rabbis Hahn and Gries, was Minhag America fully adopted at Tifereth Israel. As a neutral ground for thinking, Cleveland was also the site of the first regular convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1874, which set the stage for the establishment of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and saw the first meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1890. These conventions further crystallized thought, theology and the institutions of Liberal Judaism, which emerged as a distinctive party on the American Jewish scene.

From its very inception, the Cleveland synagogue was not as authoritative as the pre-Reform congregations of the East. The rigid practice of enforcing strict obedience to tradition to synagogue procedure by fines and excommunications is not found in the

early settlement of Cleveland. The arrival of the Hungarian and Polish Jews, intent upon pursuing their own modes of worship, found this fluid community more propitious for the establishment of their own congregations. The first non-German establishment was the Hungarian synagogue, Bene Jeshurun, formed in 1865. Anshe Emeth was formed four years later.

The local Jewish community was not unique in religion alone as compared with the rest of the community. Although many Jews joined with the community at large in such social events as charity balls, and while many were members of local organizations, the basic need for friendly association had to be met voluntarily from within. In the circle of his friends, the Jew could relax in an atmosphere of mutual values and experiences. The synagogue met this impulse in a general way, but specific interests were satisfied by other types of associations. One category included the numerous literary groups formed after 1860, while another was the fraternal lodge.

The middle of the nineteenth century saw the rise of the literary and debating society. When time and occasion permitted, Jews formed their own organizations of this type. In Cleveland, they had the outstanding example of the Cleveland Library Association and various lyceum and lecture groups. The Young Men's Hebrew Literary Society was accordingly organized in 1860. Upon its dissolution, the void was filled first by the Hebrew Literary Association in 1866, and then by others at frequent intervals. This strong impulse for self-improvement in literary and cultural matters stabi-

lized with the consolidation of the community. By 1885, only two groups -- the Hebrew or Cleveland Literary Union and the local YMHA -- remained as the major literary meeting grounds where Jews combined their own heritage with that of the New World.[13]

The literary society performed a significant and often overlooked function in the Americanization of the immigrant Jew. Their programs indicate a secular range of interest from Shakespeare to farces like "A Cup of Tea" and from recitations such as "Virginius and His Daughters" to lectures on Darwinism and the Reformation. The founders of the Hebrew Literary Association recognized that many of its members labored "under the disadvantage of a foreign tongue," and made English the requisite language at its meetings. Later, with the example of the YMCA before it, the Hebrew counterpart considered promoting the spiritual welfare of its members by devoting alternate meetings to Hebrew literature and religion only. Evidently, the literary society served as an intellectual loom for the weaving of American Jewish patterns.[14]

German Jews quickly absorbed still another lesson in voluntary association. Americans, as Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. has noted, are a nation of joiners. Following the hightide of the Anti-Masonic movement, Americans reversed their antagonism toward closed societies.

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13 The Jewish Messenger, vol. 8, no. 23 (December 14, 1860), p. 180; Cleveland Leader, July 16, 1866, p. 3 and November 11, 1873, p. 4; Cleveland Plain Dealer, November 8, 1880, p. 1; The American Israelite, vol. 10, no. 40 (April 1, 1864), p. 315, vol. 20, no.18 (May 2, 1873), p. 6, vol. 26, no. 6 (Feb. 11, 1876), p. 5, vol. 21, no. 39 (March 27, 1885), p. 6

14 Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 26, 1879, p. 4; Cleveland Leader, November 26, 1862, p. 3; The American Israelite, vol. 7, no. 42 (April 19, 1861), p. 334, vol. 15, no. 27 (January 8, 1869), p. 6; vol. 26, no. 6 (February 11, 1876), p. 5, vol. 26, no. 10 (March 10, 1876), p. 6

Such fraternal orders as the Druids, the Odd Fellows and the Masons capitalized on the very human desire for colorful ritual and companionship with a dash of exclusiveness. With these examples to guide them, Jews formed their first distinctive order in 1843, the B'nai B'rith or Sons of the Covenant. The Order soon spread beyond New York, and the first Cleveland Lodge was organized ten years later.[15]

The fraternal order meant far more to the immigrant than merely insurance and fraternal benefits alone. It offered a haven within an impersonal society, and created a sense of belonging to the foreign and complex world he had crossed an ocean to join. Its intimacy also required the free association of nearly like-minded men. This was challenged as the tempo of Jewish immigration increased. Differences among Jews who came from various parts of Europe complicated both economic and social distinctions as well as the natural division between early and late arrivals.

In the fraternal world, the result was the creation of organizations similar to the B'nai B'rith. The Free Sons of Israel seems, in fact, to have been founded in 1849 by former members of the older order. During its national expansion after the Civil War, its first Cleveland affiliate was installed in 1873 with forty-one members.

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15 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Paths to the Present (New York, 1949), pp. 38-39; Hyman B. Grinstein, The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654-1860 (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 109-114; The Occident, vol. 11, no. 1 (April, 1853), p. 77

The Cleveland City Lodge of the Kesher Shel Barzel or Iron Circle, whose membership consisted chiefly of Jews of the middle and poorer classes, was inaugurated in 1871. Another order, the Sons of Benjamin, grew most rapidly in Cleveland with six lodges formed by 1890. This strong fraternal drive also made Cleveland the center of a national order, the Knights of Joseph. A statistical summary perhaps best measures the need met by local Jewish lodges. By 1895, the Jewish community of less than twenty thousand supported eighteen chapters of five different national Jewish fraternal organizations. Once again the value of association for Jews is clear. But with the element of compulsion gone, there was a difference in the quality. In his social life, as in his religious and cultural activities, the Jew in America enjoyed the freedom of choice. [16]

The Jews' traditionally-inspired heritage of charity and personal service cropped out in the fraternal orders. Specific welfare activities undertaken by their regional divisions reflect in part the adaptation of social service functions traditionally performed by the synagogue. In the Jewish Orphan Home and the Montefiore Home for the Aged, Cleveland possesses two institutions born of lodge activity. They underscore, as well, the city's position as a terminal station for Jews in the West and Southwest during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

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16 Grinstein, op. cit., p. 112; The American Israelite, vol. 36, no. 48 (May 29, 1890), p. 2 and vol. 42, no. 13 (September 26, 1895), p. 3; Moses J. Gries, The Jewish Community of Cleveland, n. d., p. 18

The project of an orphan home under the sponsorship of the B'nai B'rith District Grand Lodge No. 2 matured shortly after the Civil War. Although located in the extreme northeastern section of the District, Cleveland was selected as the site of the asylum. Economy, religious and educational facilities, as well as climate were factors which ruled in favor of Cleveland, and against the more centrally situated city of St. Louis. Fourteen years after the dedication of the orphanage in 1868, the Kesher Shel Barzel Home for Aged and Infirm Israelites was opened. Very likely the success of the former invited a parallel effort. This time Cincinnati lost out to the city it regarded as the "village on the shore of Lake Erie." Since both institutions were more than local in origin and support, the act of locating them in Cleveland was not without its significance. It emphasized the growing importance of the city as a bridge between Jews of the East and West. To its role as a mediator in religious affairs, the local community now added the function of leadership in Jewish social service. [17]

By 1890, the internal lines of the Jewish community had been well established. Its religious institutions, transplanted from Europe, were gradually modified to meet the needs of members adapting to a new non-religiously oriented society. Created outside the synagogue, Jewish social and cultural organizations drew direct inspiration from existing non-Jewish counterparts. The German Jews could look forward to a period of stable internal development, but

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17 The American Israelite, vol. 14, no. 33 (February 21, 1868), p. 6, vol. 15, no. 2 (July 17, 1868), p. 4, vol. 18, no. 37 (March 15, 1872), p. 4; Cleveland Plain Dealer, February 23, 1881, p. 1 and March 29, 1881

this prospect was soon to be disrupted by new factors arising out of Russia's oppression of its Jews. In 1882, the Plain Dealer already recorded the arrival of a number of Russian Jews into the city. This trickle grew into a wave of immigration. Orthodoxy, Hebrew and Yiddish culture, and Zionism were now the new ingredients brought into a community that had only basic patterns. The story of the inner Jewish community in Cleveland is an account of the blending between the early German Jewish community and the new arrivals.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: As our first discussant we will call on Professor Donald P. Gavin of John Carroll University to give us analysis and insights which come from another tradition. Professor Gavin is Professor of American History, and specializes in the area of church history. His recent work, In All Things, Charity, is the history of the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine. I take great pleasure in presenting Professor Gavin.

PROFESSOR DONALD P. GAVIN [John Carroll University]: As one whose interest is particularly in Catholic history, I was not quite clear what my position on this program was supposed to be. However, I was told that I was not necessarily to comment on the papers directly, but to point out possible parallel developments in the history of another religion. After this morning's session, I came to the conclusion that most of what I have to say should be illustrative of the points that were raised. I would like to limit myself to just four points.

In the first place, I will deal with the problem of source materials for writing Catholic history in this community; secondly, with some of the basic problems that one runs into in tracing the development of local institutions; thirdly, the question of organization; and fourthly, the question of who should write ecclesiastical history. In this case, I am referring specifically to Catholic history.

In order to be specific I would prefer to take illustrations from the history of the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine. As some of you may know, they operate St. Vincent's Charity Hospital, St. John's Hospital, and Parmadale in Cleveland; Providence Hospital in South Carolina; as well as similar institutions in Akron and Canton, Ohio.

The community was founded in Cleveland in 1851 by Bishop Rappe, so something of its history parallels the development that has been suggested in the

previous papers. One of the duties of a Bishop is to provide for the care of the poor, sick and unfortunate of his diocese through the establishment of charitable institutions. When the Diocese of Cleveland was established in 1847, there was neither an asylum nor a hospital in this city. Bishop Rappe, mindful of his obligations, and particularly aware of the fact that recent epidemics and heavy immigration created a great need for such institutions, went to his native France to obtain assistance. There was not yet sufficient growth in the Catholic community here to enable him to draw upon local residents for that purpose. He succeeded in securing four women from the St. Louis Hospital, Boulogne-Sur-Mer, France, whom he invited to come here to help set up a hospital.

This is a good place to begin to discuss the problem of sources. It is obvious to the historian who attempts to reconstruct that story that these people were far more intent upon carrying out their mission than in keeping any continuous record of it, or in making any record in the first place. After a long search - by "long" I mean about three or four years - St. Louis Hospital finally turned up a few documents, among which are the official releases allowing these women to come to this country. We know from various sources that correspondence did exist between Bishop Rappe and this community, but where it is now no one seems to know.

There is a story I ran across accidentally, that Bishop Rappe had written an account and that a copy was preserved at Charity Hospital. There was a certain delight, therefore, in seeing the building remodeled and the front taken off; since a search had failed to reveal the document up to that time, there was a possibility it might be somewhere behind the walls. However, even with the pulling apart of the building, Bishop Rappe's account has not been found. It may be that its existence is just a rumor, but in any case, it is one of the missing links here.

One might say, "Turn to the chancery archives." They are in even worse condition, however. This was a period before carbon paper was introduced. Consequently, copies of correspondence were not always kept, and sometimes the persons to whom they were sent didn't keep the originals carefully. I have found official correspondence, even as late as for 1890-1900, on note paper. It was official enough, but lost in a batch of material, which included clippings from newspapers and other material which had no necessary connection with the subject. The chapter records of the community might seem to be another possible source, but no one bothered to keep such records until after the community was well established. And even then, they were more likely to keep expense accounts, which, though useful, do not tell the entire story.

One of my most interesting experiences in gathering material occurred in going through a batch of newspaper clippings, which had apparently been kept by a person impressed by the great events in Europe in the 1840's and 50's. I discovered hand-written sheets which appeared to be pages 197, 198 and 200 from a big book of history that had apparently been kept by one of the members of the community. The question is, how did they get out, and where was the rest of the book? A two year search finally tracked that down.

One of the problems encountered here is the fact that the early Sisters were French. Thus, a certain amount of French nationalism must be allowed to enter. Because two of them returned to France, the idea of a task unfinished was something that didn't go down too well with some of the subsequent French members of the community, one of whom attempted to explain away this fact. All sorts of reasons were advanced as to why they went back, but it simply boils down to the fact that they had difficulty learning English. Consequently, they decided it was better to go back to where they could be understood. In carrying out the type of work that they were supposed to do, one

could understand the reason for this. Incidentally, another search finally revealed their requests for permission to return, as well as the formal permission of the St. Louis Hospital.

This story then is rather complete. At the same time, it presents an interesting problem as regards to the availability of sources, many of which were lost, stolen or otherwise mishandled. I mention this because I am sure that there will be similar problems in dealing with other groups. There will always be someone who feels, as I think was said this morning, that maybe the skeletons should be put back into the closet rather than taken out.

About 1900, some of the sources become a little bit more complete. I was struck by the fact that in both of the previous papers, if I recall correctly, the weight of the footnote evidence for the nineteenth century is largely from the newspapers. I would say that the latter are an indispensable source for the early Catholic community; while newspapers cannot be relied upon in every instance, one can gain a great many clues from them. The catalogue of the Western Reserve Historical Society listed a little newspaper, The Sunday Morning Voice, which ran for three years. However, it was not on the shelves, and only a diligent search turned up a complete file. This newspaper gave interesting clues to official correspondence, and turned up one or two documents, copies of which happened to be in the Vatican Archives. This is an illustration of what can often be found in the newspapers.

I was particularly interested in the discussion of oral history testimony as I had occasion to talk to a good many of the older Sisters, some of whom had direct contacts with the original founders. It was interesting to get their particular views, record them, and then check them against the source material.

The problem of language arises in ethnic and religious communal affairs.

Dr. Rappaport referred to a synagogue dedication address given in German. Checking with him, I was informed that the bilingual character of the Jewish group precluded the absolute necessity of recourse to German. Such however was not always the case with regard to the Catholics. The Irish spoke English, they claimed, and experienced no difficulty. The Germans, on the other hand, had a different problem, even to the extent that Catholic parents insisted that their children attend the Lutheran schools to learn the German language. Bishop Rappe, who was French, had his own problems in this regard. The nationality quarrels, I believe, were accentuated by the language problem. Canon law and the status of the church in this country being what it was at the time, the Bishop had complete authority over the pastors, some of whom he moved at will. At times, if a non-German pastor got into a German-speaking parish, fur began to fly. Bishop Rappe's resignation in 1869 was a result of these nationality and language conflicts.

Another problem which apparently does not crop up too seriously in the Jewish counterpart is that of episcopal authority and the question of church property. Since canon law did not apply in the courts of this country, the problem was how to incorporate the church's property. In the case of the Sisters of Charity, the Bishop had incorporated the community under the laws of the State of Ohio and under the name of the St. Joseph's Hospital Association, which in time turned out to be a community within a community. Therefore, the community at large was not incorporated, while this small group was. Technically, the latter could have sold the property out from under the community.

When Bishop Gilmour came along, he decided to remedy the situation. He was not necessarily known for his tact in handling such matters. Consequently, a dispute arose, which eventually went to Rome, and then back to Archbishop Elder in Cincinnati, who presided over the court that decided it. Gilmour was technically correct, but some of the discussion that took place, and some of

the recrimination, I might add, make an interesting chapter.

I would like to spend just a minute on the question of organization because I think it touches on a problem that was raised this morning as regards the relationship between local and national history. There is now a tendency among some Catholic historians who feel that enough work has been done on the parish and lower levels, and who believe there ought to be more regional-type studies. They regard the history of the diocese as being too much of the brick-and-mortar variety and insufficiently interpretive. There is a feeling, too, that J. G. Shea's History of the Catholic Church in the United States (1886-92), while useful enough for its own purposes, cannot be revised or even rewritten. It is necessary to start from scratch.

Then there is the question of who should write ecclesiastical history. The argument in favor of ecclesiastical or clerical authorship is that such persons have greater insight into the problem, and consequently can do a better job. It is claimed they might even have better access to some materials. However, I know of no case where a responsible layman failed to obtain the same access. On the other hand, one priest-historian remarked to me that he was quite convinced that laymen should write church history. The reason was that if the layman got into a disagreement with the Bishop, the latter could not send him to some far-off parish; meanwhile, the layman could always retaliate by saying that the Bishop was a poor historian. There is something to that point.

Finally, here is a misconception which is not to be understood in any sense as a limitation on the objectivity of the Catholic historian. This concerns the meaning of Imprimatur. Permission to print is not withheld because of the facts of history. All it refers to is Catholic doctrine.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: Associated with the Cleveland study of the American

Jewish History Center is a wonderful personality and highly trained student of history. We have been tremendously impressed by his acumen and insight. I am referring to Mr. Judah Rubinstein. He is going to discuss the nature of the source materials for the Cleveland study.

MR. JUDAH RUBINSTEIN /American Jewish History Center/: The bibliographical problems involved in writing the history of the Jewish community of Cleveland are not unique. Undoubtedly they resemble those encountered for any local immigrant group which can trace its communal origins beyond the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The sources for the Jewish community fall into two extremes. Materials for the early German Jewish period are limited, while those covering the present century are profuse in number and detail. These conditions impose upon any investigation the necessity for intensive research in the first instance and for selectivity in the other.

The most useful general studies of Cleveland are James H. Kennedy's History of Cleveland (Cleveland, 1896); Samuel P. Orth's A History of Cleveland, Ohio (3 v., Chicago and Cleveland, 1910); and William Ganson Rose's Cleveland, the Making of a City (Cleveland and New York, 1950). Kennedy's centennial volume is good for the early years, while Orth's topical approach provides a series of concise essays on many aspects of the city's history. The Rose work is rich in factual detail, arranged in chronicle form, and is a handy reference tool. Supplementing these treatments are the histories of Wilfred and Miriam R. Alburn, This Cleveland of Ours (4 v., Chicago, 1933); Elroy Avery, A History of Cleveland and Its Environs (3 v., Cleveland, 1918); and William R. Coates, A History of Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland (3 v., Chicago and New York, 1924). These multivolume works also fall over into the category of "mug books." Their biographical volumes frequently contain information on many prominent Cleveland Jews not readily available elsewhere.

An early published attempt to piece together the story of the local Jewish community is the summary account by Rabbi Moses J. Gries in the Orth history. Since its appearance in 1910, the only other comparable effort is the Historical Digest prepared by the Cleveland Jewish Centennial Committee in 1937. Besides membership lists, the Cleveland Jewish Society Book (8 v., Cleveland, 1915-25) contains introductions to various religious, social and philanthropic organizations. These brief sketches are, in fact, self-perpetuating. They apparently form the historical substance of special features appearing from time to time in the local press and individual anniversary publications.

Under such limitations the first and perhaps most fertile source of material is the local newspaper. Given the axiom that American Jewish history is both American and Jewish, the daily press offers the best evidence for the development of the Jewish community as an integral part of Cleveland. The Cleveland Plain Dealer, the city's oldest continuous newspaper, dating from 1842, provides an increasing flow of data ranging from lengthy accounts of synagogue dedications to inconsequential social items. The W.P.A. Annals of Cleveland (59 v., Cleveland, 1936) provide a time-saving and, on the whole, reliable newspaper index to the day-by-day life of the city during the years 1818-1876. Beyond this period the researcher cannot be spared the task of page-turning to seek out the past life of the Jewish community. The Wächter am Erie (1853, 1860-93) and the Anzeiger (1872-1893) remain to be investigated as sources on the activities of German Jewish immigrants.

Paralleling the local press as a source for the nineteenth century are various national Anglo-Jewish publications. The Reform organ of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, The American Israelite (Cincinnati, 1854-), and Isaac Leeser's conservative The Occident, and Jewish Advocate (1843-1868) exemplify the extended coverage given local communities. These periodicals followed carefully

the course of local religious reform and theological controversy, both reporting and joining in the battle. Other publications such as The Jewish Messenger (1857-1902) and the American Hebrew (1879-), both of New York, add to the sources from which to recapture the past. Local correspondents made frequent use of their columns to report on activities and debate local Jewish issues.

A local Anglo-Jewish newspaper appeared in 1888 with the publication of The Hebrew Observer (1888-1899), and was joined four years later by The Jewish Review (1892-1899). These were amalgamated as The Jewish Review and Observer (1899-). The publication of The Jewish Independent (1906-) followed within the next decade. The arrival of East European Jews in substantial numbers led in turn to efforts to publish a Yiddish language newspaper. Some of these sporadic attempts are listed in N.W. Ayer's American Newspaper Annual (Philadelphia, 1880-), but the Yiddish press flourished locally in a later period.

The presence of a local Anglo-Jewish press does not eliminate the need to follow through in the standard news sources. Newspapers still remain the best printed source on economic and political developments. In politics, the progress of local campaigns can best be followed through their columns. The participation of Jews in party politics and the story of Ward Sixteen in the 1890's must be extracted from the press. The gathering of such data is essential to supply the details of broader personal recollections. For the later years, moreover, the press constitutes a partisan but, significantly, a non-ethnic control in evaluating the Jewish community as a factor in Cleveland's politics.

Newspapers are equally necessary for tracing Jewish economic life. For

the early years, various business and city directories like those of Peets, Smead and Cowles, and Andrew Boyd provide an index to the group's activities.[1] The City Directory, published annually since 1871, is a check upon the data gleaned from legal notices of assignments and advertisements. Similarly, the first accounts of labor problems involving Jews come from press reports of a local cigar-makers' union and the sweat shops of the garment industry. It should be noted that a search for records of early Jewish mercantile firms has yet to be made.

Jewish communal sources for the nineteenth century are limited. The incomplete stories of many societies have to be pieced together from the press. Even the more permanent synagogal organizations lost track of their records as they moved along in the wake of the eastward residential shift of their members. Bene Jeshurun (Temple on the Heights) is a typical case in point. Available minute books begin in 1891, but its origins reach back another twenty-five years. The statement, "Records missing," is particularly true of the older orthodox congregations. Their early books were often kept by officials at their homes and were in time forgotten. At best their records cover the last fifteen to twenty-five years.

Some exceptions to this unconcern for the future needs of historians can be shown. Tifereth Israel (The Temple) possesses its original minute books, beginning in 1850, and a complete file of its Year Book (1897-). To a lesser extent the same holds true for Anshe Chesed (Euclid Avenue Temple). Although the value of synagogal records for a community study may be over-estimated, they do provide evidence of internal growth and religious life which enriches the fabric of communal history.

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1 Peets' General Business Directory of the Cities of Cleveland and Ohio for the years 1845-46; Smead and Cowles, General Business Directory of the City of Cleveland for 1848-49; Andrew Boyd, Boyd's Cleveland Directory and Cuyahoga County Business Directory, 1863-64.

The essential volume for utilizing the imposing accumulation of county records is the W.P.A. Guide to County Archives of Ohio. No. 18 Cuyahoga County (Cleveland,1937). From the Guide it appears that the most likely sources for investigation are the following: naturalization records which go back to 1810, register copies of charters and articles of incorporation of religious and fraternal societies covering the years 1845-1924, and election abstracts beginning in 1893. The Court Record Series, 1837-1877 (10 v., Cleveland, 1939) provide summaries of cases revealing the ordinary life and business relationships of the community. The listing of Cleveland's municipal records is found in the Inventory of the Municipal Archives of Ohio No. 18 Cuyahoga County (vols. 5-7, Columbus, 1939). Annual reports of various city departments, lists of business licenses, reports of the police emigrant officer, and municipal court records are highly potential sources to be covered in a thorough research program.

One final source requires comment. The Alsbacher Document illustrates the type of material often held by private individuals. Descendants of early immigrant families very probably have letters and mementos which would help fill the gaps in the early history of the community. Early organizational records may still be stored in attic trunks. Interviews with older members of the community can add color and life to an otherwise bare recital of facts. The investigation of this relatively unexplored field of personal and family history will require the cooperation of the local press and communal organizations. By publicizing the need for such material, the interest of the Jewish community can be stimulated to contribute to the writing of its own history.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: Now for an interpretation, and any comment he may wish to make, from Dean Wittke.

DR. WITTKE: I think I will make my comments very brief in order to leave

something for my colleague, Professor Harvey Wish, to summarize; anything I might say would be, I suppose, in the nature of a summary of these discussions which we have had.

I am amazed with what patience and perseverance this audience is sticking to the end. We historians who go to our Historical Association meetings fly out into the corridors and the lobbies much sooner than you people have done here. I think it is indicative of the interest of all groups in this project that we have held this audience so long.

Much has been said, and said very eloquently, about the scope of history, particularly the scope of local history. Years ago, and not too many years ago, people defined history as past politics, political campaigns or diplomatic affairs; but the new history seems to have triumphed completely, even in a gathering like this. We now proceed on the theory that anything man has ever done, felt or thought, and about which there are accessible records, is worthy of the attention of a serious professional historian.

As Professor Wish will undoubtedly point out, the trend has been very sharply in the direction of social and intellectual history. There are many pitfalls and it is necessary to find some points of orientation, but it also, I feel, presents a story of very fascinating interest.

I think it is also clear that to do some of this work, whether it is the writing of the history of the Jews in Cleveland or a history of Catholic communities, such as in the days when the first Bishop here was a Frenchman and the next one a German, it is very essential for young scholars to have a reading knowledge of foreign languages.

One of the greatest battles we had to fight in graduate schools throughout the country was over the language requirement for the doctor's degree. After some of the same people, who at one time sought to break down that require-

ment, really develop into serious scholars, they regret very deeply that they didn't take our admonition more seriously. They find that many of the sources are frozen for them in the eternal ice of a strange and foreign language.

I think you will agree after this long discussion that history, whether it is local history or any other kind of history, belongs with the humanities rather than with the social sciences, because it is essentially a creative art. I don't mean to say that the manuals for historical research and scholarship are not as complete or as exacting as the manuals for the chemistry laboratory, but in the last analysis whatever historical truth there is has to be distilled, as I believe Trevelyan said, through the prism of the finite mind: the scholar who proceeds to write the story.

There is not a single historian, however scientific or scholarly who, I think, can ever completely step off his own shadow. It becomes a matter of personal judgment and a trained historical imagination to recreate the past. That introduces a subjective factor which we might just as well recognize and therefore put history where it belongs, among the humanities and the creative arts.

Finally, I would like to suggest that there is only one good history. There is not a history for Catholics or a history for Jews or a history for Methodists, although all these groups and many more deserve to have their history more thoroughly written and exploited; rather, the test of history, of good history, is the extent to which the facts can be truthfully documented and the style in which they are presented to the reader. This is the ultimate test of good history, no matter what group happens to write it and through whatever theological or philosophical or ethical minds it may eventually be distilled.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: Are there any questions which you may want to put to any of the participants this afternoon?

MR. HYMAN HOROWITZ /Former Editor, Cleveland Jewish World/: Did the committee decide on a cut-off date for the history of Cleveland Jewry?

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: It was agreed that research should proceed to date. It was agreed further that a Scholars' Committee, consisting of Dean Wittke, Professor Wish, Professor Nevins, Judge Woldman and myself would then, after an analysis of the material, determine what would be the most adequate cut-off date.

MR. MICHAEL SHARLITT: /Former Superintendent, Jewish Orphan Home, Cleveland/: In the early presentation of the subject, particularly by yourself, I was a little bit surprised that no reference was made to the East Side of New York City.

I realize it is a fragmentary part of the total picture, but I have the feeling that the whole story of the American Jewish community stems in spirit and momentum in good part from the dramatic story of the East Side of New York City. I wonder if any part of the story that you intend to write will be given over, perhaps in a preliminary way, perhaps in some introduction, to the East Side story.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: You recall that this conference has been called to treat the period from 1840 to 1890. We have been dealing with early Cleveland Jewry; thus the entire Russian immigration, including the story of the East Side, has barely been touched. The influence of the latter upon the Jewish community of Cleveland will not, of course, be neglected.

Those of us who deal with the source materials of American history deeply appreciate the incisive interpretations of Professor Harvey Wish and the manner in which he weaves together the intellectual and cultural strands of American society and thought. We are all eager to listen to Professor Wish's summary of our conference.

Summary

Harvey Wish
Western Reserve University

In evaluating our session today, I shall look at it from the standpoint of the major project which has been undertaken for this area, that is, the history of the Jewish community of Cleveland. This type of project presents a number of difficulties; some of them are quite obvious.

I feel reassured, however, by some of the papers read that the project is moving in the right direction. For example, Dr. Davis has shown that the study is not a parochial account, rather an integral part of a larger story. Also, the coordinate research basis of the project is an effective means of gathering sources. One of the purposes of this meeting today is to acquaint you with the need for discovering more sources.

It isn't an easy thing for a community with any degree of self-consciousness to attain complete objectivity, and it is certainly highly praiseworthy that there is this attempt at objectivity. Still, the selection of facts can never be completely objective. Let us take as an example the paper read by Rabbi Herman, which is entitled "The Inner Life of the Jewish Community." It certainly shows a knowledge, not only of factual data, but of some of the social and economic conditions that surround these facts. Yet it is quite clear that as Rabbi Herman sees the community, the important facts that reveal the inner life are ecclesiastical and ritualistic. Those of us who are more secular-minded would regard this as incomplete. The "inner life" is much more than this.

My own work in local history was for many years a study of the Negro, which involves a very sensitive ethnic and racial problem. Under the leadership of Dr. Carter Woodson, the Journal of Negro History became a scientific journal. Nevertheless, the smae Dr. Woodson went so far one day as to issue

a statement of objectives in which he expected contributors to the journal to point out that the Negro had freed himself from slavery. In other words, he pointed out the conclusions that scholars would be expected to make. I happen to believe personally that the role of the Negro in freeing himself has been almost entirely ignored, but that is another matter. This idea emerged from research work, not wishful thinking. This kind of directive is certainly contrary to the spirit of scholarship, and should play no part in the present project.

Then there is the danger that local history will lose itself in isolated facts, mere "local color" items, or a list of individual achievements collected in the spirit of ancestor-worship or self-praise. Let us look at the evils of the collector's theory of history. It seems to me that if we suffer from any blight in history writing, it is a result of this tendency to lend ourselves to a theory of uniqueness. It is the idea that historical facts are unique, and that therefore each fact is independent of context. Out of this comes the false fruit of antiquarianism. This makes for both distortion of reality and sheer dullness. A broad and sound social theory is necessary in order to determine both the selection of facts and their meaning. This does not mean, of course, that we should turn into world-encompassing Spenglers or Toynbees.

I was very impressed with the comments made by Dr. Pargellis along this line. I think we may agree with him, Toynbee to the contrary, that the day of these large, grand designs of history is pretty well gone. I don't find a great deal of excitment among professional historians over Toynbee, although they have examined his analyses. At least, I am not aware that Toynbee's method is being imitated in many quarters. I think we might also agree with Dr. Pargellis' remarks regarding the professional successes of English local history. My recollection, however, as a graduate student, is that too many who did regional

theses for their M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s showed little imagination. There was the illusion that local history was a simple task which required no synthesis to speak of.

I have always tried to point out to my graduate students that local history is not an easy topic. To do a history of Cleveland for a few years, or a history of some locality, or an institution, is really a very difficult job. The worst kind of history is local history done in antiquarian fashion. It illuminates nothing.

Now and then one finds a local historian of tremendous imagination like Paul Angle who has written a history of Williamson County, Illinois. I suppose that I have read as many county histories as anyone. I had to. Most of the time, the benefits accrued were very modest indeed. Angle's book, Bloody Williamson, however, raised the calibre of local history by implementing the narrative with sociological insights. The result is a highly readable book which penetrates into the microcosm of local history. One is afforded an opportunity to observe the American community in a better way than is done by ordinary national history.

The historian has been plagued in our day by the continuing vogue for what we might call "one-half of the formula of positivism." Positivism in the nineteenth century had two sides. One believed that positive history would begin by collecting facts. It was supposed that after the facts had been selected and arranged, the historian could come along, and with his inductive imagination, discover the laws of development and the laws of life.

Historians in this country, and to a large extent in England, never got over Stage One - that is, they collected facts. This was called "scientific history." The assumption was that no great criterion is involved. One merely collected the facts relevant to the subject. This kind of history, first of

all, estranged the professional from the layman. The latter refused to continue to read this dull material. Secondly, it was not really scientific.

Therefore, while we agree that we no longer want the grand design, at the same time, we do not want the local history that consists of the uncritical selection of facts or the attempt to conceal an unscientific criterion by a slick style. Objective history and good writing can go hand in hand.

I could go on, but I think that my time is up. I will conclude by saying that I have seldom seen a plan for local history so carefully thought out and with such an impressive array of scholarly sources and systematic cooperation as I have seen in this project. After listening to Dr. Rappaport, Dr. Davis, Rabbi Herman and Mr. Rubinstein, I have every reason to hope that it will fulfill its promise.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: Ladies and gentlemen. Before I adjourn this meeting I should like to ask Mr. Colton Storm, who as co-chairman, opened the morning session, to say a final word.

MR. STORM: Only a wish for the greatest of success - the wildest of dreams realized.

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: Gathered in this audience are people who can actually become real co-workers in this enterprise. Indeed, you can make a mass of historical material available to us. I am referring particularly to the people who direct institutions, and who are associated with them. I repeat my plea that you make such materials available to us.

I want again to express my gratitude, on behalf of the co-chairmen, for this wonderful participation in the conference. Perhaps when we come back with a second progress report, we will have lived up to some of the goals which we have imposed upon ourselves.

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